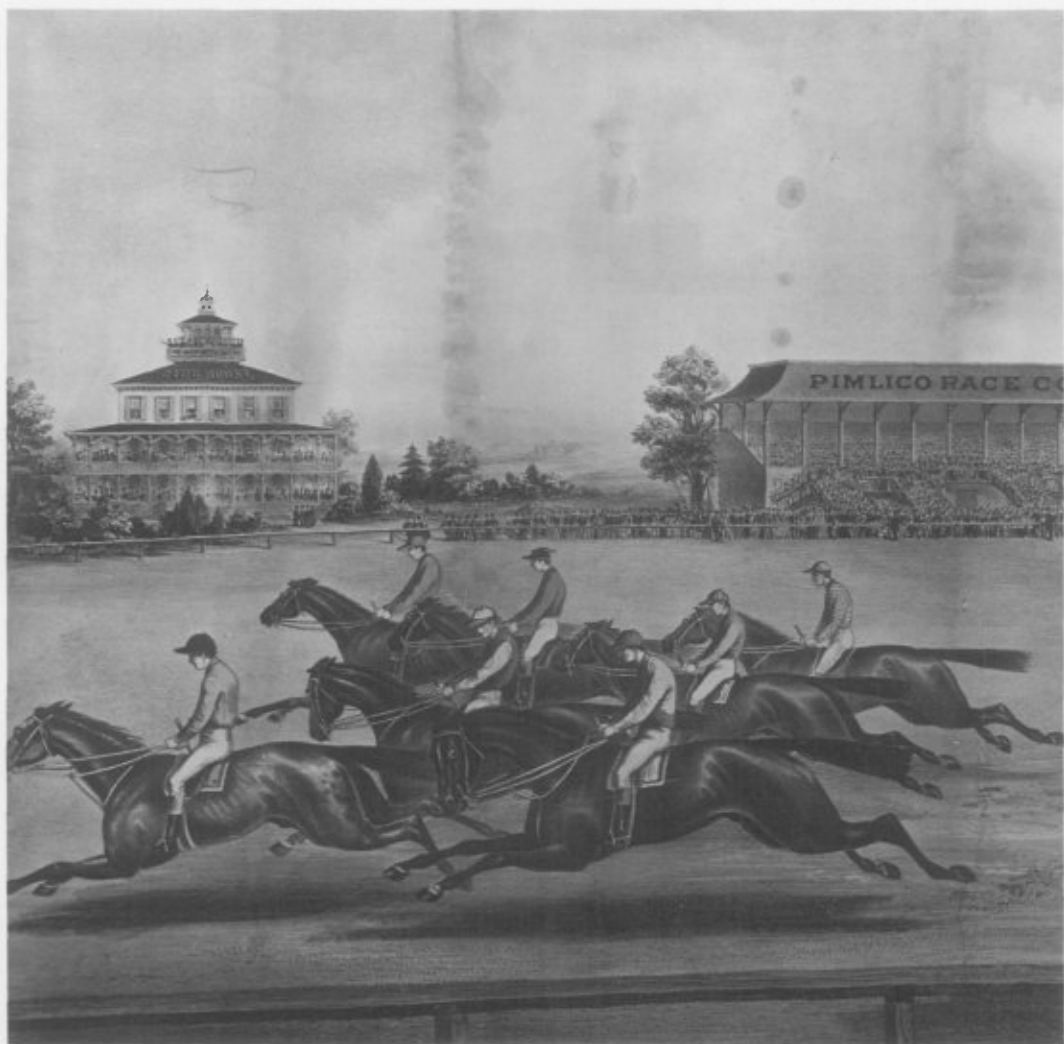


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# Maryland Historical Magazine



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**L 109** [PIMLICO RACE COURSE, BALTIMORE] (trimmed). Signed on the stone, co. LUDLOFF. \*\* Lithograph, printed in colors. 45.3x62.6 cm. MdBE, *MdBPM*, *CCr*, Merrick, VBHo.

This view, lithographed about 1875, was taken from a drawing by Conrad Ludloff. It shows the start of a race at Pimlico (the name of the site leased to the Maryland Jockey Club). The colors worn by the jockeys are those of the owners, including Oden Bowie, John F. Chamberlin, Joseph Donohue, G. L. Lorillard, and Pierre Lorillard. The first race, held October 25, 1870, was won by a bay colt named Preakness. Within two years, the club had built the judges' stand (at the right in front of the grandstand), the grandstand (in center), and the clubhouse (at left). The clubhouse burned in 1966. The horse-topped weathervane, seen at the top of the clubhouse, was painted each year with the colors of the winner of the Preakness. The Preakness, a top-flight race named for the very first winner at Pimlico, was established in May 1873 and is run each year in the spring. Conrad Ludloff worked as an artist, engraver, and lithographer in Baltimore from 1875 to 1905.

# The Origins of the Maryland Historical Society: A Case Study in Cultural Philanthropy

JOSEPH W. COX

“HISTORICAL SOCIETY” OFTEN CONJURES UP IMAGES OF RATHER DARK, older buildings, usually suffering a state of genteel decay, in which elderly ladies, their hair drawn back in prim buns, and older gentlemen, in conservative old-school attire, meticulously labor to discover their ancestral roots in the storied past of colony and state, or, better still, to locate a forebearer on the passenger list of some seventeenth-century crossing, or on the tax or church rolls of Elizabethan or Stuart England. One might wonder whether a serious scholar ought to commit half a decade, or whatever, to a study of such peripheral institutions when more “important” fields invite his or her attention.

Actually, this stereotype of the “historical society” is wrong and was even more incorrect and inappropriate in antebellum America. Before 1860 historical societies were organized in every state east of Texas except Delaware. There were societies in the District of Columbia and in the New Mexico Territory. Over half of these societies are still active.<sup>1</sup> Any historian has to take seriously a cultural institution which appeared so frequently, which was usually found in either the largest city or capital of a state, and which was invariably created by members of the upper middle class to “elite” segments of American society. Not even the most cynical would suggest that such a movement which did not even exist before 1794, but which spawned some sixty-five institutions before the Civil War, could be viewed as anything other than a major development in the evolving urban-industrial culture of nineteenth-century America. It was obviously much more than a coincidental effusion of dilettantish energy with no serious objectives in mind. One must remember, as George Callcott has so eloquently stated, that history was the premier intellectual avocation of literate Americans in the nineteenth century. Never before or since have so many citizens expended so much energy on the study, writing, reading, collecting, and preservation of history and historical objects.

Americans have always been strangely preoccupied with the future and fascinated with the past. Especially from about 1800 to around 1860, as the future glowed especially bright, a surge of interest in the past swept the young nation. . . . The country's first generation with leisure for sustained cultural activity was finding personal fulfillment in history.<sup>2</sup>

Dr. Cox is Acting President of Towson State University.

The purpose of this article is twofold: first, to focus on the origins of an institution, the Maryland Historical Society, that is of major significance because it both reflected and effected the cultural development of an important American city, and second, to place in perspective the founding of the Maryland Historical Society as part of a national institutional phenomenon of considerable moment. If we can gain insight into why history was so compelling a subject for study at that time, and why this generation was so "past conscious" and preservationist, so committed to the voluntary association as a means to achieving goals, and so supportive of programs of private cultural philanthropy — we will have, in fact, come to understand better nineteenth-century urban America. The Maryland Historical Society is also an important window on the past, in that its membership included the very men who were making Baltimore the most innovative and progressive city in the antebellum South. These same individuals had the largest stake in social and economic stability, a concern not all unrelated to their activities in the historical society.

Nineteenth-century Americans were convinced first that Providence had intended that the United States have a special mission, and second that they were embarked on an errand the likes of which the world had not seen and which was to be of momentous consequence to mankind. What had happened on the Alleghenies' eastern slopes and coastal tidal plains in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and during the heroic era of the Revolution, offered not only evidence of unique accomplishment against frequently staggering obstacles, but also a golden opportunity to understand and appreciate America's past as it shed light on the present and showed the way toward the future. Americans of the period 1800-1860 were absolutely convinced of the social utility of history — they believed, with no coaxing from a then nonexistent historical professoriate, that history would both help them to know the truth and make them free.

Many nineteenth-century Americans were also impelled to study history, perhaps subconsciously, by feelings of ambivalence toward the times in which they lived. Recent generations of Americans have, in the ahistorical way common to our day, believed that change of "future shock" proportions is solely the curse of the twentieth century — a view which is both myopic and inaccurate. Mid-nineteenth century Americans of the generation of John Pendleton Kennedy, a noted Baltimore lawyer, entrepreneur, socialite, and among the most prominent pre-Civil War southern writers, or John H. B. Latrobe, son of the great architect and himself a major ornament in a glittering Baltimore legal profession, would have been amused by Alvin Toffler's presentism.<sup>3</sup> Their lives too spanned profound political, economic, social, and technological change. The advent of modern mass politics, the impact of the transportation revolution, the commercial explosion and the revolutionary effects of the emergence of a national market, the beginnings of modern industrialization, and rapid urbanization fueled by immigration drastically changed the world as they had inherited it from their eighteenth century fathers.

Their ambivalence is understandable. They were sometimes mesmerized and awed by the progress they had witnessed, and at other times troubled by

it. Was the nation developing so rapidly, with wealth increasing and consumption of goods rising at such a rate, that America would be undone by her own success? It may be difficult for persons of the twentieth century to grasp a concern that life one hundred years ago in American urban centers had become so comfortable and satisfying that some Americans seriously worried about its deleterious effects on society — but that such was the case, witness Horace Mann in 1842:

The old hearts of oak are gone. Society is suffering under a curvature of the spine. If deterioration holds on, at its present rate, especially in our cities, we shall soon be a bed rid people. . . . There is a general effeminacy of our modes of life, as compared with the indurating exposures of our ancestors. Our double-windows; our air-tight houses; our heated and unventilated apartments, from nursery to sleeping-room, and church . . . slackening the whole machinery of life.<sup>4</sup>

Pricked perhaps by a fitfully sleeping Puritan conscience, some Americans, and Mann was clearly not atypical, feared that material goods and comforts were too much in profusion, that a once pioneering people had begun to lose their hardiness, their physical prowess, their spunk, and perhaps their moral sense and virtue as well. If one wanted to hold the bracing example of a more rugged, simple living, unostentatious, plain republican, virtuous, earlier generation — the founders — before contemporary-nineteenth century American society as a model, then the record of the past had to be collected, preserved, and made available.

One other dimension of this concern was perhaps even more frightening. Had we, as a result of the economic and political convulsions of the 1820s and 1830s, gotten so far away from the idealized simplicity of Jeffersonian America that our government had been substantially altered and our institutions thoroughly politicized? Brantz Mayer, the prime moving force in the early Maryland Historical Society, a litterateur, scholar, and acute observer of his times, commented in 1846:

It is humiliating to confess it, but *money making* and *president making* are the two great occupations of all our people — public and private. The great solemn, noble uses of government or of wealth, are entirely unappreciated. . . . Possession, not enjoyment, is the great aim; so that Possession at length becomes enjoyment itself. You will thus see that my estimate of the standard of social and political life in America is rather low . . . this absorbing selfishness blinds all classes. . . . There are good men in America . . . but unfortunately they are neither rich nor in power. . . .<sup>5</sup>

How to get men to see that there were higher goals in this life than acquiring money and power worried thoughtful persons like Brantz Mayer. What better way than to create voluntary associations which would develop libraries, art galleries, and archives where the best of literature, art, and most importantly materials for historical scholarship would be collected, preserved, and utilized?

These intellectual oases would afford refuge, sustenance, and inspiration to active men in the professions and the demanding world of the commercial

arena. Here they could come to be refreshed, reinvigorated, and, occasionally, even creative in a climate conducive to gentlemanly scholarship. If, as John Pendleton Kennedy hoped, the Maryland Historical Society would be limited to the one hundred most influential respectable gentlemen, the professional and social elite of Baltimore, what an exciting and dynamic association it might be! If the Huns of modern mass politics and tasteless materialism were indeed at the gates, if American society in fact teetered at a cultural watershed, what better way could there possibly be to reinforce and maintain the standards of good taste, civic virtue, and leadership that represented the very best of an earlier day?

Fred Somkin, in a marvelously purple metaphor, has created a composite image of what the millions of concerned, reading, churchgoing citizens might have been exposed to in the years before the Civil War. The "prophets of problems"

depicted a smugly complacent America reclining over a heaving volcano of proletarian unrest, while a river of alcoholic fire rolled through the land, the black cloud of slavery darkened the horizon, the 'disciples of Loyola' seized control of the West, and the vice and crime of cities, spreading virulent infection through the institutions of freedom, poisoned the heart of the nation.<sup>6</sup>

Clearly, what America was preparing for was a massive, across-the-board crusade for goals that we would call in the modern sense, as John B. Boles puts it, a campaign for "moral rearmament." Upon reestablishing a state of civic grace, America would then be in a position to turn to what seemed to be a multitude of problems.<sup>7</sup> Confronted with dangers on all sides and the need for self-definition and a return of the earlier sense of mission in order to face an uncertain future, it is not all surprising that on the one hand America was swept by a wave of nostalgia, and, on the other, Americans should respond to perceived institutional and cultural erosion by devising that most uniquely American institution — the voluntary association. As Rowland Berthoff has noted, faced with disorder and decay and needing to devise a response consistent with the belief in individualism yet competent to deal with the host of identified social, political and spiritual ills, the voluntary association, religious examples of which already dotted the landscape, was the ideal answer.<sup>8</sup>

This explosion of voluntarism was, of course, what Tocqueville encountered in the 1830s and what he chronicled in that famous passage in *Democracy in America*:

Americans of all ages, all conditions, and all dispositions constantly form associations. They have not only commercial and manufacturing companies . . . but associations of a thousand other kinds, religious, moral, serious, futile, general or restricted, enormous or diminutive. The Americans make associations to give entertainments, to found seminaries, to build inns, to construct churches, to diffuse books, to send missionaries to the antipodes . . . If it is proposed to inculcate some truth or to foster some feeling by the encouragement of a great example, they form a society.<sup>9</sup>



It is my contention that one important dimension of the response of Americans to the profoundly unsettling yet exciting three decades prior to the Civil War was the movement to create historical societies. It is certainly true that the earliest two, the Massachusetts and New York historical societies, were founded before 1800, but the telling empirical fact is that of the thirty-two major state societies begun prior to 1860, twenty-nine were founded between 1820 and 1860, and twenty were begun between 1830 and 1860. In other words, the historical society phenomenon of the 1820s, '30s, '40s and '50s was as much a part of the American trauma of ambivalence sketched out by Somkin and others as was abolitionism, feminism, or the American Party.<sup>10</sup>

If many Americans during this era, especially those who were cool toward the gospel according to Jackson, could be correctly classified in Ralph Waldo Emerson's words as belonging either to the "party of memory" or the "party of hope," then the historical society idea would have offered a strong appeal to both mind-sets. Those who harkened back to the nation's institutional bedrock — the Constitution, the national character of the Founders, elite leadership, and the bonds of Union — "the party of memory" — would be drawn to history and to the societies for their contribution to preserving the past and seeking to draw inspiration and stability from it.

By the same token those more identifiable as belonging to the "party of hope," that is to say those who looked to the past for guidance as to how to deal with the present and confront the onrushing future, would also find much that would be attractive in the idea of the historical society.<sup>11</sup> These individuals, along with John Quincy Adams and Henry Clay, would have assessed the nation's problems and then proceeded to devise a systematic plan of action, usually involving positive governmental action in order first to deal with the problem and then to get on to the business of planning the country's future line of growth and development.<sup>12</sup> They would naturally be drawn to an association, such as that described by John Pendleton Kennedy, bringing together in an intellectually stimulating environment the very best men and minds from quite diverse backgrounds. The result would almost have to be an exciting, provocative institution.<sup>13</sup> The potential for good works had to be significant; in the first place, these were men unaccustomed to personal failure, and secondly, the example they could set of refinement, patriotism, and intellectual leadership would have an obvious didactic effect on the community. If the society were to play a larger civic role through public lectures by celebrated speakers, a publications program aimed at a wider dissemination of scholarship, and special collections that were regularly opened to the general public, then the didactic impact of the institution would be increased many times over. To the criticism that this smacked of elitism, many members would have responded simply by agreeing that of course it was elite — didn't it by definition have to be? Besides, there was certainly room in such an institution for the self-taught individual of humble beginnings who, having made it economically, could nevertheless toe the intellectual mark, as an analysis of the early Maryland Historical Society will show.

Baltimore in the 1840s was one of the most exciting cities in America. In so many ways it was the closest the East ever came to having a genuine "boomtown," analagous in some respects to a modern urban phenomenon like Houston. Baltimore Town, near where the Patapsco created a potential harbor on the rim of the Chesapeake Bay, had been there since 1729, and nearby Jones Town dated from 1732. As Baltimore scholars know, the prime deep draft anchorage of the harbor was further to the East where a small shipbuilding and service village called Fell's Point had evolved. A number of factors had triggered the port's rapid growth on the eve of the American Revolution.

A lucrative West Indian and European market for foodstuffs developed that, together with the easy access to the grain supplies of central Maryland and eastern Pennsylvania and the convenient mill races supplied by Jones Falls, provided Baltimore entrepreneurs with the opportunity to build a city. Consequently, the Revolution was a godsend to Baltimore. Protected from British harassment by the bay, the city profited tremendously from both shipping and privateering — in truth, Baltimore was built by flour and war. By 1790, when Baltimore Town and Jones Town were incorporated into Baltimore City, the population was nearly 14,000, and it would double in the next decade. Shipping owned in Baltimore increased during that same ten years by over 400 percent.<sup>14</sup>

Between Washington's first inauguration and James Monroe's retirement, marking the end of the Virginia dynasty, Baltimore continued to grow, even for a time between 1800 and 1830 surpassing Boston as the nation's third largest city. Being so new relative to New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, all of which traced their antecedents to the seventeenth century, Baltimore was unencumbered by long established traditions of social, political, and most importantly, economic ways of doing things. Practical and innovative, Baltimore was a town "on the make," with some risk capital accumulated during the great world conflicts of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries for a bankroll and the daring to use it. From having no banks before 1790 the city had developed a modern financial community by the War of 1812 sophisticated enough to be diversified into institutions that serviced the special needs of different segments of economic life, i.e. the Franklin Bank (1810) for manufacturers and the Marine Bank (1810), which handled the accounts of merchants engaged in the intercoastal trade.<sup>15</sup> Located closer to the rich piedmont than any other American port, Baltimore seemed destined for great things in an epoch when the business of America was commerce. It had the best of several worlds in that it could profit from both trade with the West Indies, in which reexportation of tropical crops had always been a lucrative enterprise, and was ideally located to develop the direct export of native American crops, especially grain. Gradually the emphasis shifted in terms of the international market, and Baltimore's reliance on reexport declined in direct relationship to the increase in the export of domestic goods and produce. By 1820 nearly 600,000 barrels of flour were shipped from the Patapsco harbor, 50 percent more than from Philadelphia and 100 percent more than from New York.<sup>16</sup>

The community of merchants that directed and rode this surge of prosperity could be described as for the most part non-native, since there were not that many native Baltimoreans, and in the mold of the great American merchant princes of the eighteenth century such as Robert Morris and John Hancock. In Baltimore men like Robert Gilmor, Robert Oliver, Samuel Smith, and Samuel and Robert Purviance had in the time-honored way put together capital, credit, ships, and American agricultural products and set out to sell to the Atlantic world. They were joined in time by those who developed the important service facilities best represented perhaps by men like Andrew Ellicott, the Baltimore milling pioneer. It may have involved commodities as prosaic as flour, but it was enormously profitable while a war-torn Europe was unable to feed herself and her colonies.

The city these pioneer entrepreneurs helped build and in which they prospered so mightily was largely a reflection of the world as they wished it to be. The heart of their city was the wharves, countinghouses and exchanges, and the urban townhouses they constructed within sight of the harbor. These men recognized the umbilical connection between Baltimore and the backcountry sources of wealth, and they went to work early to diversify and extend Baltimore's transportation arteries. A turnpike west first to Frederick and eventually to Cumberland 150 miles away was a reality paying handsome dividends long before the National Road was more than an idea. This same far-sightedness would lead to the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal and, of course, to the most significant gamble of all, the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad in 1828.<sup>17</sup>

The wrenching economic dislocations of 1819 and 1837, the European bank and mercantile failures that hastened the collapse of the remnants of the eighteenth-century mercantile system, domestic technological and commercial changes, especially the advances in steamboating and railroads and the impact of the improved transportation network upon the size and complexity of markets, as well as the increasing willingness of local entrepreneurs to venture into manufacturing all conspired to undermine the older economic world of the Smiths, Buchanans, Olivers, and Gilmors. In the twenty years between 1820 and 1840, just as had occurred earlier, the city received a transfusion of new blood. Men who understood the complexities, nuances, and new opportunities of a changing American economic system appeared to take over when the older generation began to falter. Johns Hopkins, Enoch Pratt, George Peabody, Alexander Brown, and Robert Garrett are only the most famous of this emerging new leadership. In self-concept, their view of the entrepreneurial role, and their understanding of the world of capital and its management and use they were far closer to the giants of the Gilded Age — Carnegie, Vanderbilt, and Morgan than they were to their immediate predecessors. Hopkins, Pratt, and company could have comprehended Andrew Carnegie's America. Smith, Gilmore, and Oliver would have been dumbfounded.<sup>18</sup>

Baltimore in the 1840s was the most northern of southern cities, or to put it another way, the Queen of the Patapsco was culturally southern and economically northern. Urbanization was occurring in southern cities like Baltimore at about the same rate as in the North. David R. Goldfield in a recent es-

say suggests that the antebellum southern city was undergoing three major developments: a leadership class was emerging; slavery was being adapted to the exigencies of urban life through new utilization patterns; and local government was playing an increasingly larger role in urban affairs. "The evolution of local government from a cipher to an active participant in community life was a consequence of urban growth and maturation. . . ." <sup>19</sup>

Baltimore in the 1840s did not need to adapt slavery to urban uses since the city already had a large free black population, although one might argue that this was in fact an adaptation of slavery to an urban setting. A leadership class had emerged, except that it was not as quick to see local officeholding as being as significant as the more prestigious state and federal offices. A period of crisis in the 1850s forced the realization that local government was critical to the city's future if stability and basic services such as police, fire, water, lighting, and disease prevention were to be effectively provided. If Baltimore was going to compete with other urban centers these services were a *sine qua non*.

The city was in a period of transition from the older small, compact, "pedestrian community" where relationships were personal, face to face, and where "those who became dominant in economic, social, and religious life established and maintained acceptable patterns for the entire community," to a more modern urban center where the city was larger in both population and spatial terms, and more anonymous and impersonal. As Baltimore became more "modern" it became increasingly difficult for any group to set standards for the remainder of the population.<sup>20</sup> The city was growing so rapidly and changing so dramatically that physical growth and economic development became ends in themselves so far as the newer elite was concerned; meanwhile, the older upper class proved incapable of exercising cultural leadership. The result was that Baltimore lagged far behind New York, Philadelphia, and Boston in the arts, music, and library facilities, and was in general not the regional cultural resource that its northern sister cities were. Following an 1843 visit, Ralph Waldo Emerson said that "Charles Carroll the Signer is dead, and Archbishop Carroll is dead, and there is no vision in the land."<sup>21</sup> It was a nice place to visit but he did not want ever to live there.

Indeed, it would have been astounding had someone of Emerson's tastes and intellectual appetites responded otherwise. There was no great public library and would not be until Enoch Pratt endowed one; there was no university or other scholarly library, and the University of Maryland itself was in a terrible state. Further evidence of the stultifying intellectual climate of the city can be seen in the absence of an art museum and a school of music, and not a single significant learned journal was edited or published in Baltimore. It was perfectly appropriate that the most important journal of any kind ever published in Baltimore had been Hezekiah Niles' *Weekly Register*.<sup>22</sup> When Emerson had asked Charles Bradenbaugh, the president of the Mercantile Library Association, which was sponsoring his 1843 lecture, whether the city boasted any scholars at all, Bradenbaugh had answered truthfully "none."<sup>23</sup> Indeed, the only bright spot was that Baltimore was a center for medical re-

search. Except for the fact that Baltimore's harbor setting, brick homes, and streets reminded Emerson of his native Boston, the New Englander was not very impressed.

The Maryland Historical Society was born, in the minds of its founders, precisely to remedy this deplorable situation. There was, to their way of thinking, absolutely no reason why this depressing condition had to be allowed to continue. Baltimore had all the prerequisites: talented imaginative men possessed of good taste, a population large enough to support a respectable cultural life, and the money to develop and fund literature, the arts, and scholarship as a permanent facet of urban life rather than as it had been, on a catch-as-catch-can basis.

The two leading pillars of the city's intellectual life were the Library Company of Baltimore and the Mercantile Library Association. The institutions were markedly different in origin, purpose, and contemporary health. The Library Company was the largest and oldest, having been founded in the midst of the Francophobia of the 1790s. The Reverend Patrick Allison, Rector of St. Paul's, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, and Bishop John Carroll, along with other conservatives, had conceived the Library Company as an upper class intellectual reservoir upon which embattled gentlemen could draw for sustenance and support in the ongoing war against the Godless, anarchic forces of rampant worldwide republicanism. It was a private, subscription, circulating library in which one bought shares worth fifty dollars each and paid an annual fee of five to ten dollars. The holdings of the Library were carefully chosen to represent the very best, both in the sense of literary quality and conservative political and social opinion. There seems no doubt that the Library Company was intended to function as an elite preserve which was to play a didactic, cultural values-reinforcing role — the larger goal of which was the preservation of a society which was organic in conception, property-conscious in orientation, and traditionally Christian in its religious precepts. Stuffy and never really freed of the mental cobwebs fastened on it at birth by the founders, the Library Company of Baltimore survived into the unfriendly age of Jacksonian democracy with its outstanding book collection intact but not very much going for it. After limping along for another decade it would be absorbed by the Historical Society in 1854.<sup>24</sup>

The Mercantile Library Association was an altogether different institution. Much more recent in origin, it grew out of the self-help movement among younger merchants, clerks, artisans and mechanics in the early nineteenth century to educate themselves. They primarily sought to acquire technical skills and vocationally applicable training not available elsewhere. The movement did much to professionalize the technical arts in the United States and eventually generated such distinct institutions as the Franklin Institute in Philadelphia, which pioneered in professionalizing engineering, and the Mercantile Library Association in Baltimore, which met a different need. The Baltimore organization was created by clerks, apprentices, and younger merchants who paid an initiation fee of two dollars and three dollars annual dues. Designed to meet the needs of young men on their way up in the world, it emphasized

courses in bookkeeping, business arithmetic, debate, and writing. However, its programs were not limited to merely applied knowledge, for the Association also sponsored a regular lecture series the purpose of which was the diffusion of knowledge construed in a much broader sense. Ralph Waldo Emerson was in Baltimore in the first place to deliver the ninth lecture of the Mercantile Library's full season of presentations. Emerson gave a lecture entitled "New England," and if the newspapers were to be trusted, it was not all that well received.<sup>25</sup> John Pendleton Kennedy considered the series a good forum to reach a large Baltimore audience, and he had used a lecture opportunity to proselytize for the city's cultural uplift. He especially pressed home his ideas for a free public library, a museum of art, a school of fine arts, and "public instruction in the way of lectures."<sup>26</sup>

The directors of both libraries took their charge very seriously, and there was a great deal of concern voiced over the quality of what the city's future leaders were reading. It was considered quite scandalous and a dangerous portent of the future when it was learned that cheap novels and fiction were among the most sought after reading materials. A nation whose young men frittered away their time on works like *Andronica*, or *The Fugitive*, or *Coquette* obviously had real cause for concern.<sup>27</sup>

The Mercantile Library Association continued to fulfill its urban-educational mission for years to come, although with the advent of the Historical Society and later the Peabody Institute it gradually concentrated its energies on the library it had developed and the program of technical courses it offered, and left the larger cultural wars to other institutions.

There were other attempts by organizations and institutions to create a healthier climate for literature, the arts, and scholarship in Baltimore. The Baltimore Athenaeum, at Lexington and St. Paul Sts., incorporated by the state legislature in 1824, had sought to promote "literature, and the encouragement of the Arts and Sciences, by providing a Library, Reading Rooms, and otherwise . . ." Open to both sexes, stock sold for fifty dollars per share and one dollar annual dues were collected. Nonstockholders were assessed three dollars for six months use of the facilities, or five dollars annually. Many of the subsequent members of the early Historical Society availed themselves of these services, and many had their offices in the building. Unfortunately, the building, which also contained large meeting rooms, burned in the 1830s and was not restored until much later.<sup>28</sup>

The Calvert Institute (1844) was yet another attempt to stimulate the city's sagging cultural life. *The American and Commercial Daily Advertiser* for January 2 gave good coverage to the founding of the short-lived enterprise. The managers of the Institute included some of Baltimore's most active men, some of whom like Bernard U. Campbell, Dr. Ferdinand Chatard, and M. Courtney Jenkins, would be active in creating the Historical Society the same year. Advertising such drawing cards as Severn Teackle Wallis and Orestes A. Brownson as speakers, the managers hoped to sell tickets at twenty-five cents each or two dollars annually. Their best efforts failed and the Institute did not survive.<sup>29</sup> Peale's Museum on Holliday Street offered a variety of lectures and



exhibitions to interest the curious student of natural history and native Americana. For twenty-five cents, for example, one could hear Colonel McKenney on the "Indians — Their Relics and Their Cause," a two-part lecture touching on the origins and history of "this noble but persecuted race."<sup>30</sup>

Contrasted to such popular efforts, some Baltimoreans turned toward small, exclusive, socially intimate groups which sought to provide members with intellectual stimulation and convivial asylum from the pressures of a demanding commercial and professional world. The most important case in point was the Friday Club, which consisted of the most socially prominent of Baltimore's lawyers and jurists. The Friday Club Minute Book explains that in 1852 "the very select group, all descended from socially prominent families, all of the same age and marked with promise, agreed to meet fortnightly on Fridays during each winter season for 'conversation and a late supper.'"<sup>31</sup> The group included Frederick W. Brune, II, heir to a distinguished mercantile fortune; William Frick, Harvard-educated scholarly son of a Superior Court Judge, who married into banking; Severn Teackle Wallis, a beau brummel, witty, learned, unrivaled conversationalist; William George Brown, Brune's brother-in-law; George Dobbin, an established young lawyer; and the mercurial Henry Winter Davis, who would loom large in the politics of the next fourteen years. Among other things, these young men shared the view that they desperately needed to get together and talk about something other than the law. They desired to "elevate the bar," to kindle a love for and appreciation of literature, art, and the life of the mind.

As a group they tended to be Whigs and ardent boosters of the "monumental city," and, as their expulsion of Henry Winter Davis from the group in 1859 demonstrated, they brooked no class transgressions. In the wake of Davis's great Monument Square American Party rally in 1859, the club, clearly troubled by Davis's orchestration of the Baltimore mob, read him out of the organization. They would not tolerate his association with rowdies or his "contumelious attacks" on his friends as "broadcloth gentry; he had marshalled the Rabble to enact the worst sort of Jacobinism — Need we wonder that Society has taken the alarm, and that industry and property are frightened?"<sup>32</sup> Baltimore, however, had not heard the last of Winter Davis, and the politics of city and state remained in turmoil as the result of his successes in channeling the fears, threatened status, and power aspirations of those reached by the message of the American Party to political advantage.

Other Baltimoreans who sought an intimate social-cultural connection more broadly based than the law turned to associations similar to the Conversation Club founded by John Pendleton Kennedy, Charles James Madison Eaton, John H. B. Latrobe, Sebastian Streeter, and the Reverend George W. Burnap. This group met weekly at a member's home and paralleled the Friday Club in purpose.<sup>33</sup> Both groups were informal efforts to generate a more vibrant cultural life in the city.

All of these individuals, to one degree or another, were committed to going beyond self intellectual gratification and turning their energies to creating a more wholesome and educational environment for the larger community. I do

not want to suggest that I have found to any degree any sense of atonement for guilt felt at having acquired wealth by birth or hard work in Baltimore in the 1840s and 1850s, but there is, nevertheless, a felt sense of gratitude at having been blessed with talent, education and money. Frederick W. Brune, II, summed it all up nicely when he wrote to his brother, "We all have been most wonderfully cared for, through long years of almost unheard of prosperity; neither disgrace, nor bereavement, no wants, nor sorrow have, thus far, been permitted to approach our dwellings — But God loves a grateful people, and shall we not render unto Him a portion of the oil and wine with which He has blessed our Store."<sup>34</sup> Newspaper editorials reinforced this sentiment by detailing in long, enthusiastic discussions, philanthropic activity in other American cities. If anyone needed to be encouraged there were ample inspirations — witness the report that 140,000 dollars had been raised in three weeks to support the Massachusetts General Hospital and Female Asylum. "It is gratifying to record such instances of the liberality of those whose enterprise and success have enabled them to be liberal. It is not always that the rich are willing to make such patriotic use of their wealth. Boston ought to be very proud."<sup>35</sup>

Baltimore was ready for a broad-based multifaceted cultural philanthropy attack — for a new institution whose appeal and scope of activity would enable it to offer something to nearly every reading, thinking man of affairs in the community. A historical society, conceived in ways which were unique to Baltimore and Maryland, and which touched enough of the sensitivities of the 1840s and 1850s might have a profound impact upon the city. The Maryland Historical Society, in the minds of its creators, was greater in scope and had a larger cultural leadership-educational role to play than any of its predecessors. As they envisioned it, the Society was to be the central cultural resource of the city and state; it was to be *the* library, *the* center for scholarship, *the* historical repository and a force for preservation; the major museum and art gallery, sponsor of lecture programs and, in general, the region's leading cultural catalyst.

The next one hundred and thirty years would see the Society play these roles, not always perhaps as well as the founders would have wished. Still the overall record is impressive when one comes to realize that there were simply no other institutions and agencies to shoulder the load. As more specialized institutions such as the Peabody Institute, the Enoch Pratt Free Library, the Maryland Hall of Records, the Baltimore Museum of Art, the Walters, and to a degree Johns Hopkins University, came along, each far better equipped in its own way to perform a role Maryland Historical had once felt necessary to attempt to fill, the Society stepped back, surrendering the task, to concentrate its talents and energy on its more clearly historical library, scholarly center, and museum labors. This metamorphosis is much of the Society's story.

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# The Letters of William Roberts of All Hollows Parish, Anne Arundel County, Maryland, 1756–1769<sup>1</sup>

JAMES P. P. HORN

“THE GENERALITY OF THE INHABITANTS IN THIS PROVINCE,” wrote William Eddis from Maryland in 1770, “. . . conceive an opinion that the difference is merely nominal between the indentured servant and the convicted felon.” Consequently, “they are strained to the utmost to perform their allotted labor; and . . . groan beneath a worse than Egyptian bondage.”<sup>2</sup> The characterization of indentured servants as little better than convicts was not new. As early as 1649 William Bullock described them as “idle, lazies, simple people . . . such as have professed idleness, and will rather beg than work.”<sup>3</sup> Towards the end of the seventeenth century, Sir Josiah Child was even more critical: “Virginia and Barbados were first peopled,” he believed, “by a sort of loose vagrant people, vicious and destitute of means to live at home (being either unfit for labour, or such as could find none to employ themselves about, or had so misbehaved themselves by whoreing, thieving or other debauchery, that none would set them to work) . . .”<sup>4</sup> This unfavorable contemporary opinion of servants induced modern historians until fairly recently to assess them in similar terms, as paupers, rogues, whores, and vagabonds.<sup>5</sup> Within the last few years, however, more and more work has revised this stereotype, suggesting instead that servants came from a variety of backgrounds covering the whole range of social rank below the gentry.<sup>6</sup>

Throughout this debate the views of one group have been conspicuous by their absence. The servants themselves have remained uniformly silent. Of the hundreds of thousands of servants who crossed the Atlantic to work and live in the American plantations little trace remains. They left behind no diaries and apparently no letters to explain why they emigrated and how they fared in their new country.<sup>7</sup> Thus, what they thought of themselves, the people who surrounded them, and their prospects of becoming full members of the community is largely unknown. This makes the discovery of a number of letters from an ex-servant of the mid-eighteenth century particularly exciting. They are the only series of letters known to exist for Maryland of this period, though hopefully others await to be found. William Roberts' letters therefore offer a unique opportunity to follow the career of a poor ex-servant and view Maryland society from his perspective.

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Mr. Horn is completing his doctoral dissertation at the University of Sussex, England.

Before analyzing the letters it may be useful to briefly outline William Roberts' life. He was probably born between 1735 and 1740;<sup>8</sup> one of three sons of John and Letitia Roberts.<sup>9</sup> Little is known about his family background in the early years but by 1756 they seem to have been living in London, possibly near to Roberts' uncle, John Broughton, who lived in Charing Cross.<sup>10</sup> Roberts' parents were probably poor as he later expected no help from them when he was living in Maryland. Instead he turned to his uncle for aid.

John Broughton is the key figure in Roberts' life. He was instrumental in persuading him to go to the Chesapeake,<sup>11</sup> and it is possible that he had formerly sponsored his nephew in a trade which had not proven successful. Both of Roberts' brothers became tradesmen and it is unlikely that their parents could have afforded the cost of their apprenticeships. Did John Broughton, as a wealthy and dutiful uncle, help give his sister's sons a start in life? There is a mysterious reference by Roberts in *Letter 2* where he says of his uncle to his parents, "I hope he forgot all my Misdeeds that I have been Guilty of."<sup>12</sup> It seems likely that since Roberts expected his uncle to help him get started in the Chesapeake, and evidently Broughton himself promised as much, that he would have been helped to an apprenticeship in England had he remained there. Finally, it is just possible that a previous unfinished apprenticeship explains Roberts' ability to write.

In March 1756, after retrieving some of his clothes from pawnshops in Holborn,<sup>13</sup> he left England for Maryland aboard the *Betsey*. The ship carried "sundry European goods" and nine other indentured servants besides Roberts.<sup>14</sup> He arrived in Annapolis on June 23rd after a crossing of about three months. Roberts served three years as a servant, apparently to a good master who allowed him his freedom a year before it was due. By the time of his letter from Maryland in 1761 he had been free two years and was living in All Hallows Parish, Anne Arundel County, probably near the confluence of the West and South rivers.<sup>15</sup> He was poor, wearing old threadbare clothes and taking odd jobs where he could find them. He concentrated, however, on "plantasion work, makein corne, wheat, and Tobacco,"<sup>16</sup> and since he had no land of his own he probably hired himself out as a laborer on the big plantations of his neighborhood.

Six years later Roberts had still not acquired enough capital to rent some land and establish a household, although this was clearly much on his mind.<sup>17</sup> He was still poor, and was glad to receive from his uncle a trunk containing mostly cast-off clothes from his brothers. In his letter of 1767, Roberts made a list of household goods he wished to be sent to him from England besides £28 sterling for purchasing livestock and provisions. He planned to rent a plantation, probably of about a hundred acres, at £10 (current money) per year.<sup>18</sup> After eleven years in Maryland, eight of which he had been free, William Roberts was still begging his uncle for money and goods to enable him to make a start as a small planter.

In 1768, Roberts was working as an overseer of twenty slaves, or "Blackamoors",<sup>19</sup> probably on a plantation belonging to Nicholas Gassoway who also lived in All Hallows Parish and in whose household Roberts lodged

for some time.<sup>20</sup> This is definite proof that he was now a wage-laborer and it is almost certain that this had been his occupation ever since becoming free. The potential to accumulate capital by laboring seems to have been extremely limited, and by the following year he was beginning to despair. He had rented a plantation with another young man which had caused him to go into debt. Unfortunately, the summer had been very dry and ruined their crops of tobacco and corn. Roberts contemplated ruefully the benefits of having a trade, like his brothers: "For my part I Belive i was Born under a Bad planet or Else i mite had a Trade two and not a Sufferd the heate of Sun from day Break tell dark . . ." <sup>21</sup> He was still poor and had not yet received the goods he had requested over two years previously. Whether he ever got them is unknown.

What happened to William Roberts after 1769, the date of his last letter is not certain. There is evidence to suggest that he remained in All Hallows Parish at least until 1776. The census of that year records a William Roberts married with three children but no servants or slaves. Nearby, on the same list, are Mr. Gassoway and Alexander Carvill, both mentioned by Roberts in his letters.<sup>22</sup> Similarly, a William Roberts is recorded in the 1783 tax return for Rhode River Hundred. He is described as having no land, one horse, five cattle, and other property amounting to £10. In all, he was worth only £28 and yet had four sons, three daughters, and a wife to support.<sup>23</sup> Finally, in the first census of the United States of 1790, a William Roberts is mentioned with four sons under sixteen years and six white females, presumably five daughters and a wife.<sup>24</sup>

Of course, there is no sure way of knowing that the Roberts of 1776, 1783, and 1790 was the same man who wrote the letters. Possibly he left Maryland after 1769 and went to another colony; he may have died, or he may have continued as an obscure wage-laborer without family and household. On the other hand, Roberts had remained in All Hallows Parish from 1761 to 1769, if not longer, through a period when he experienced prolonged hardship. He had aimed to get married as early as 1768 when he was probably about thirty years old, and it was partly for this reason that he requested the household goods and money from his uncle. If he had married in the early 1770s it is quite possible that he would have had three children by the time of the census of 1776. Nine years later it is again quite possible that his family would have expanded to seven children. The lack of land and stark poverty of this householder reflect the hardship that Roberts suffered during the 1750s and 1760s. In any event, it is certain that William Roberts never achieved great wealth or high social standing in Maryland. He probably died in the same condition he had arrived in the colony: poor and landless. He never returned to England, and he never saw his family again.<sup>25</sup>

Fate played a cruel trick on William Roberts. If he had stayed in England and lived to see his old uncle pass away he would have been principal heir to a fortune of over £6000. John Broughton died intestate in 1789 leaving his kin to dispute ownership of his property. At the time of his death, Edward, William Roberts' brother, was dead, as was his cousin, William. Roberts' other brother, George, had left England in 1770 and was never heard of again. Roberts'

nephews and nieces, who eventually inherited Broughton's estate, accounted him dead; they had not heard from him for years and it was commonly supposed that he had died a long time before his uncle.<sup>26</sup> There was no real proof of this, however, nor whether he had left any children. Advertisements were placed in the *London Gazette* in March and April 1790 requesting heirs of John Broughton to come forward and claim their rights to inheritance. But even if Roberts had seen the *Gazette* in Maryland, which is very unlikely, he would have had no time to return to London. Only two months were allowed for persons to make themselves known to the administrators of Broughton's property, barely enough time for the *Gazette* to reach Maryland let alone for Roberts to travel to England as well. If he was still alive in 1790 he was worth a fortune without knowing it.<sup>27</sup>

Were William Roberts' experiences typical of other ex-servants in Maryland? A good deal of work has recently been completed on the fortunes of servants and freedmen in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake.<sup>28</sup> Scholars are agreed that the likelihood of ex-servants acquiring land, wealth, and position was very much conditioned by the state of the tobacco economy:

While the economy was vigorous and growing — until the mid-1660s — it created demands for goods and services and generated easy credit upon which poor men could capitalize in order to make the transition from servant to freeholder. As the rate of expansion slowed and finally approached zero in the early 1680s, opportunity first declined — although less sharply on the frontiers of settlement where most of the expansion that did take place occurred — and later came to a virtual end.<sup>29</sup>

Of 158 servants who arrived in Maryland before 1643, about 50 percent eventually acquired land in the colony. Most of them were able to obtain leasehold properties immediately after their servitude and thereby establish themselves as small planters. They were able to participate in local or even provincial government in a variety of offices ranging from jurors to burgesses. By contrast, of 58 men who arrived in Charles County, Maryland, between 1662 and 1672, only 22 to 29 percent became landowners, and none achieved great wealth. Furthermore, the decline of economic opportunity was paralleled by a decrease in political participation.<sup>30</sup> Towards the end of the seventeenth century, as the tobacco economy stagnated and as population increased in the settled areas, fewer and fewer ex-servants gained full entry into Chesapeake society as freeholders. There began a steady rise in tenancy which continued up to the Revolution. Thus, by the 1680s and 1690s opportunities for ex-servants to become independent planters declined and many were faced with the prospect of living in poverty in Maryland or moving elsewhere.

Rising population, land shortage, the establishment of powerful native-born families, the increasing dominance of big planters over local society, and the continued vagaries of the tobacco economy did nothing to improve the prospects of poor immigrants in the eighteenth century. In Roberts' own parish, All Hallows, tenancy rose from about 20 percent of all householders in the 1670s to over 30 percent in the first decade of the eighteenth century, and

nearly 50 percent by 1783.<sup>31</sup> Land shortage was reflected by the increase in the price of land per acre, which rose from less than seven shillings in the 1670s to about ten shillings by the turn of the century, and fifteen shillings during the 1750s.<sup>32</sup> If Roberts had wished to buy a plantation of fifty acres in 1760 he would have needed about £37 sterling. This was clearly beyond his means, leaving him with two choices: to continue working as a wage-laborer or to rent some land. As tenancy expanded in the eighteenth century, landlords exacted ever higher rents. Tenant rentals reached a maximum of eight hundred pounds of tobacco a year for a hundred acres by the late 1740s.<sup>33</sup> A rental of this magnitude would consume between 50 and 80 percent of a tenant's crop, leaving him with perhaps only two hundred pounds of tobacco for provisions, taxes, paying debts, and making essential purchases. In bad years he would be forced to go further into debt to pay the rent, thereby increasing his financial burdens of the following year. The tenant farmer's prospects for acquiring his own land and "climbing the agricultural ladder" were decidedly poor.<sup>34</sup> By the time of the Revolution, tenancy was no longer a transitional stage in becoming a landowner; it was now virtually a fixed status from which it was more and more difficult to escape.<sup>35</sup>

William Roberts, like many of his fellow ex-servants, was caught in a "poverty trap." He arrived in All Hallows Parish when the economy was depressed and opportunity to obtain land was low. He could not afford to buy land and for many years was unable to save enough money to rent it. Working as a wage-laborer did not allow him to accumulate capital. Possibly he was obliged to pay for his accommodation, food, clothes, and all other necessities out of his wages. When he eventually rented a plantation he experienced a poor crop which forced him into debt. If we assume that Roberts was living in All Hallows in 1776 and 1783, he still had not acquired any land and now had a large family to support from his tenancy. This would reduce his surplus crop, since more food would be needed for home consumption, thereby decreasing his profits and making it less likely that he would ever become a freeholder and achieve wealth.

#### THE LETTERS OF WILLIAM ROBERTS

William Roberts' letters provide numerous insights into the life style and expectations of an ex-servant of the late colonial period. His experiences, as we have seen above, were not atypical; the letters therefore have a relevance beyond Roberts' own affairs. The way he lived and thought may have been common to countless other poor laborers and small planters living in Maryland on the eve of the Revolution.

Considering his poverty, it is not surprising that all of Roberts' letters are concerned with obtaining financial assistance from his uncle, John Broughton. The lists of household goods he asked to be sent from England indicate the standard of living he wished to attain, and also the kind of items that were either too difficult or costly to buy in Maryland. The fullest list (*Letter 3*) can be divided into three categories: 1) bedding; 2) pewterware, cutlery and kitchen utensils; and 3) tools. Top of the list came a bed tick (i.e. the cover of a mat-



truss), bolster, pillows, blankets, and sheets. A bed was a valuable acquisition, not only for comfort, but as an important status symbol. Not everyone owned one. At the lower end of the economic scale in mid-eighteenth century St. Mary's County, Maryland, only between a half and two-thirds of inventoried persons possessed a bedstead, and less than a fifth had sheets.<sup>36</sup> As for pewterware, Roberts requested a dozen plates, four dishes of different sizes, a pint pot and a quart pot, besides half a dozen knives, forks, and spoons. He asked for an array of pots and pans of various capacities, presumably for boiling food and water, as well as a frying pan and grid iron. The tools he required were mostly for carpentry work, which he no doubt foresaw would be necessary around the plantation he planned to rent. Roberts permitted himself no luxuries, unless we count the box iron he wanted for ironing his clothes. Chairs, a bedstead, feathers for stuffing his mattress "and a few more trifles,"<sup>37</sup> he hoped to purchase in his neighborhood. With the above goods Roberts would have been able to establish a household, and although his standard of living would not have been luxurious it would nevertheless have been far better than the primitive conditions of the seventeenth century when many poor people had to make do without beds, tables, chairs, and cutlery.<sup>38</sup>

To make his rented plantation economically viable, Roberts estimated that he required about £28 sterling to buy livestock, provisions, and pay the rent. With a couple each of horses, cows, and pigs he could expect his livestock to multiply; increasing his wealth with only a minimal outlay for fodder and shelter. The ten barrels of corn and three hundred weight of pork would be ample to feed himself and a wife for the first year of planting when they would be unable to supply themselves. Thus, the money he requested was just sufficient to launch his career as a tenant farmer, and with luck and careful husbandry he would be able to support himself in the following years.

Besides his aspirations of becoming a tenant farmer, Roberts' letters illustrate many other aspects of life in eighteenth-century Maryland. A spell of sickness he mentions in 1767 was damaging not only to his health but also to his pocket, costing £16 over four months.<sup>39</sup> In his letter of 1761, Roberts describes the ships that plied the rivers of Anne Arundel County nearby where he lived. He probably knew their captains personally, as he worked for James Cole, master of the *Princess Caroline*, for "2 months In our River."<sup>40</sup> Eight years later, in the summer of 1769, he was to work on the river again, "But got so Little by it" that he decided to "leave it off[f] and follow what I first lant, plantations Work."<sup>41</sup> To his uncle's question regarding trades in Maryland, Roberts replied, "You wanted to no wat Trades or Business was carried on most But that I cant tell you as [I] doe not frequent Towns much, Tho by wat I can observe we have all Businesses but my Brothers Georges and that I have not seen followd."<sup>42</sup> Unfortunately, he gives no further explanation of what his brother's trade was. Finally, Roberts' letters indicate the potential profits to be made from trading English goods in the Chesapeake. The sale of buckles, knives, sissors, and buttons sent by his uncle repaid Roberts "as much a gain as the first Cost."<sup>43</sup> In 1769, he wrote, "If you think proper to send me some



Check of a Bout thirteen pence a yard I can dispose of it at half a Crown Current money for Shirts, if it is good three Shillings.”<sup>44</sup>

Of the people he lived with and who surrounded him, Roberts is disappointingly silent. He directed replies to his letters to Mr. Alexander Carvill, but never describes who he was and how he knew him. He mentions a Mr. Gassaway in whose house he lived as a lodger but, again, is curiously silent about his relations with him. Of the merchants and traders who resided in his area, Roberts makes only a general comment: “Tradesmen hear lives like Gentlemen that dont give themselves to drink.”<sup>45</sup> For the most part, he seems absorbed in his own problems and those of his family in England. He shows a good deal of concern for his widowed mother and frequently asks to be remembered to all his relations, even those he had never met.<sup>46</sup>

One senses that for much of the period covered by his letters, Roberts felt lonely, isolated, and frustrated. “This is the third Letter I have sent,” he wrote to his parents in 1761, “and have had no Answer. All as [I] require is [for you] to Let me no how you all doo as [I] no it dont Lyy In your power to help me. My Uncle told me find Stores [fine stories] of what he doo for me but I have Receive non nor yett a Letter.”<sup>47</sup> In August 1768, he wrote to John Broughton, “I sent 2 letters last year to you and my mother but never recive anay Answer wich much surprizes me.”<sup>48</sup> And in the following month he begins his letter in a similar way: “I am sorry that I had no answer from any letters I sent last year. . . . I have some thoughts my Letters Never got in your hands.”<sup>49</sup> In 1769 he again wrote to his uncle, “When you was please to send me the clothes I wrote two Letters and last year two more from which I never recive no Answer which makes me Uneazy.”<sup>50</sup> Even after fourteen years in Maryland, Roberts’ thoughts turned to England which he still considered home: “Sometimes I have thought of comin home to England to se my dear Mother and the rest of my Relations and then a gain I think as I am No trade that I Better stay ware I am as I think by my Uncles Letters that he will a Sist me hear.”<sup>51</sup> Dissatisfied with his lack of success in establishing himself as a small planter and frustrated by the long delay in the goods he requested from England, his last letter to his uncle was signed, “So no more from your Unhappy Nephew, William Roberts.”<sup>52</sup>

#### NOTES ON EDITING

I have attempted to follow Roberts’ language as closely as possible in order to retain the original character of the letters and preserve the way in which he thought and expressed himself. He spelt words phonetically, but his grammar is very inconsistent and many words appear in several different forms. Punctuation has been added to make the letters more intelligible.<sup>53</sup> The seven letters which William Roberts wrote from 1756 to 1769 have been arranged chronologically and numbered from one to seven, while the letter of Thomas Hunt is presented last and numbered eight.

## 1.

To Mr. John Broughton in Warwick Street, Charing Cross, London.

Sir

March 10 1756

I have been In hopes of haveing my things Ever Sence I have been a Board But have had non Come. I have thought Sense that my Brother mite have Lost the Note So have rote it Again.

My Coat is in at the 3 Balls<sup>1</sup> [on] the Corner of Wine Office Court, Fleet Street, In the name of William Johnson for 5 Shillin. Pair of Stockings at Mr. Burchmoors [in the name of] William Roberts [at] Saffron Hill<sup>2</sup> for 2 Shillings. My Shirt [is at] my mothers. Nows Whereas for my Shoes they will hardly keep upon my feet and the old box that is at my mothers.<sup>3</sup>

Direct for William Roberts on Board of the *Betsey* Little Below Gravend Church.  
Unsigned.

1. A pawn shop.

2. Wine Office Court and Saffron Hill are in Holborn, London.

3. The meaning of the final phrase of this sentence is unclear. Probably Roberts is reminding his uncle (Mr. John Broughton) that "the old box," which is to be placed on board ship with his other goods, is still at his mothers house.

## 2.

To Mr. John Broughton in the New Road, Lambeth, [Surrey].

Dear father and Mother

September 24 1761

I hope these Lines will find you in good health as I am at Present. This is the third Letter I have sent and have had no Answer. All as [I] require is [for you] to Lett me no how you all doo as [I] no it dont Lyy In your power to help me. My Uncle told me find Stores<sup>1</sup> of what he doo for me but I have Receive non nor yett a Letter.

Thank God I happen to meet with a Good master which Give me one year out of [illeg.] I have been free 2 years Last June. As for my Clothes they ware veary bad, I had but to Sharts for a year and as Courss as [the] apron as you ware When you Scower pewter And as for Others Cl[othe]s they were veary Ornaery [?]. I hope you Speak to my Uncle to send me some Cloths such as Check Shirts and a Suet of Cloths as he done veary Little for me yet. I hope he forgot all my Misdeeds that I have been Guilty of.

Theres three Ships Comes withing a mile of Ware I live: theres Capt. Middleton Belt [of] the Ship *Dragon*, Capt. Chillton [of] the *Charming Molly*, and Captaine James Cole [of] the *Princess Caroline*. I work a Board of Capt. Cole 2 months In our River.<sup>2</sup> Please to Direct to William Roberts at Mr. Alexander Carvil In West River Near the Mouth of South River.

So no more from your dutifull Son  
William Roberts.

1. Fine stories.

2. South River, West River, or Rhode River?

3.

To Mr. John Broughton in Walnut Tree Walk, Lambeth, In the County Surry.

Dear Uncle

July 26 1767

This comes with my kind love to you hopein you ar in as good health as I am at present, thanks be to god for it. I recived my goods from the Sally, Capt. Smith, wich you was please to send me and I returne you many thanks for them. I havein an Oppor-tunity of sein Mr. Buchanan<sup>1</sup> I informe him of what you said in your Letters concerning of goods and he was of the Opinion that I had Better not be concerned with goods for Sale as he thinks it woud not sute me but Advizes me to lett you no of what I am in want of as I intend to go to house keepin. I should be Oblige to you for a few house old furneture: a Bed tick, bolster and two pillows, one Rugg, two Blankets and a pair of Sheats, one four gallon Pott and a Eight Gallon one, a dozen of pewter Plates, four dishes of different sizes, a gallon Bason and a half one, four tinn pans, two half ones and two of a Gallon, half a dozen of knives and forks, a Pint pewter pott and a quart pott, a Couple of candlessticks, Six Pewter spoons, a grid Iron, Box Iron, heters, and a frying Pann, one Handsaw, a Adge, a drawing knife, a Broad Axe, Narrow Axe, one Inch Auger and a half Inch, a gouge, half a dozen of Gimblets of all Sizes, these things I shall want as I think I can make my plows.

The Business I have followd ever sence I left England is plantasion work, makein corne, wheat, and Tobacco, and that I hope to follow all my life time. I am Sorry to hear of the death of my poor father, my duty to my Mother and I am glad to hear she is well. My Love to all my Relations. Pray give my love to my Brothers and am Oblige to them for there Letters they sent me But I make no doubt but I live as well as they altho they have good trades and I have non. The spell of sickness I had hurt me a good deal as it cost me 16 pound for a Bout four Monthes. My clothes I had done as you said In your Letter, my Brothers coat fitt as well as if I had been Measured for it, my Shirts did veary well all but a little to short in the sleves, my hight is a bout five foot five inches. I fancy by my Brothers coat fitt in me so well that aney thing that fitts him will fitt me. I should be Oblige to you for as much fustain<sup>2</sup> as woud make me a coat and Some Nankeen<sup>3</sup> for a Jacket and Breeches, Likewise a Sundays Hatt, Some Check or Stripe Holland<sup>4</sup> for Shirts, Ozinbourg<sup>5</sup> for Trowsers and what you think proper for a great Coat for the Winter. My Buckels, knives, Sisers, and Buttons is got me as much a gain as the first Cost. I return you many thanks for them as they paid the Taylor and some more small debts. The money I rote to you for woud be the means of makeing me pro-vided you woud Let me have it as I intend to make as Good use of it as lies in my power . . . . These ar the things I intend to Buy, the first place there is:

	£	s.	d.
two Horses	16	0	0
two Cows	7	0	0
two Sows	3	0	0
ten Barrells of Corn	6	5	0
three Hundred Weight of Pork	4	10	0
My Rent when it is due	10	0	0
Currentcy	46	15	0
Sterling	28	1	0

Sir, if you will oblige with these things and Money I make no doubt but I shall doe well to your hearin and to my Satisfaction. To make you more eazy I got the Gentleman

I now Live with to rite A few Lines to you as I thought him the only person to give me a Character wich I have Inclose with my Letters. I am In hopes in the time I hear from you I shall be able to purchase a few more things wich our Country a fords such as feathers, chairs, Bedsteed, and a few more trifles. You wanted to no wat Trades or Business was carried on most But that I cant tell you as [I] doe not frequent Towns much, Tho by wat I can observe we have all Businesses but my Brothers Georges and that I have not seen followd. I should be much a Blige to you for aney of your old chlothes when you have them to spare, as for my Brothers I find its In vane to aske them for aney thing and my poor Mother is not Able.

My love to Elizabeth Adams and I am glad to hear she [is] well, Likewise to my Uncle William Broughton, Aunt, and Couzen William, and my Relations I never have seen. I intend Please god if you answer my Expaction to Settle In November 1768, I am yet a Single man. I wish my Mother woud Get my Age if it is not to much troble and let me no wat month and date.

Please to send some Powder and drap Shott.<sup>6</sup>

So no more at present from your Most Dutifull Nephew  
William Roberts.

Direct for Mr. Carvil near South River, Maryland.

1. Samuel Buchanan, master of the *Snow*, was engaged in the tobacco trade between London and the Chesapeake. He was the son of "Mr. Buchanan" of Tower Street, London, mentioned in *Letter 8*.
2. Fustian. A coarse cloth having a warp of linen and a weft of cotton.
3. Nankeen. A buff-colored cotton cloth.
4. Holland. A coarse unbleached linen or else a linen and cotton fabric sometimes glazed with oil and starch.
5. Osnaburg. A kind of coarse linen originally made in Osnabruck, North Germany.
6. The precise meaning of "drap Shott" is unclear. Presumably, it was some form of ammunition for a musket.

#### 4.

To Mr. John Broughton in Walnut tree walk, Lambeth, Near Surry, London.

Dear Uncle

August 16 1768

I hope these lines will find you in good health as i am at present, thanks be to god for it. I sent 2 letters last year to you and my mother but never recive anay Answer wich much surprizes me. The chest you sent me I recive with all the things as you mention. The clothes I had done according to your Orders, all but the coat that was my Brothers that fitt me veary well. The small truck you sent I got Just double the first cost wich paid for the altering of my clothes. You mentioned in your letter that if I could get aney body to give me a character you did not no but you mite help me to the sum I aske for. I inclose a letter from a Gentleman of a veary great account<sup>1</sup> whome I am Overseer for over twenty Blackamoors. The character I am In hopes you have recive.

I Should be much oblige to you for as much fustain as woud make me a coat and as much Nankeene for Jacket and Breeches, likewise a Great coat and a hatt. I hope my dear Mother is well and desire my love to her. I desire to be remember to all my Relations and freinds. Sence I have left England I have followd planttasions, lookin over slaves and makein corne, wheat, and Tobacco wich I think I could get a good livein by was I once help to begin the World. I hope as you have promise me you wont be wors then your Word.

I remembered you to Mr. Buchanan and I gave him the letter the gentleman rote to you concernin my character and he Inclose it in mine last year. I se Mr. Buchanan last May 1768 and I aske him if he had received aney letter from you but he told me not so now I ant seen him this four monthes. In my 2 last Letters I mentiond these things to Mr. Buchanan — Orders the first is:

	£	s.	d.
2 horses	14	0	0
2 Cows	7	0	0
1 Sow	1	10	0
10 Barrels of corne	7	10	0
House Rent	10	0	0

This is about 25 pound Starling

A Bed Tick, 2 Blankets, a rugg and 2 sheets, a 4 Gallon pott and a 8 ditto, a 1 Gallon Bason, a 2 quart ditto, 1 Gridiron, 1 Box Iron and heatters, 1 quart pewter pot, 1 pint ditto, 2 Brass candle Sticks.

If you will send these things I hope I shant trouble you again.

So no more from your Humble Servant  
William Roberts.

1. Probably Nicholas Gassaway of All Hallows parish, Anne Arundel County.

5.

To Mr. John Broughton in Warrick Street Near Whalnut Tree Walk, Lambeth, Near Surrey, London.

Dear Uncle

September 5 1768

I hope these lines will find you in good health as i am at present, thanks be to god for itt and I am sorry that I had no answer from my letters I sent last year. I sent a Copy of my character from a Gentleman I lives with and I see Mr. Buchanan in August last and he Told me that he never heard from you sence he had my letters. I have some thoughts my Letters Never got in your hands and for that reason I take this method to let you no that the Goods you sent me last year I recived all that the letters mentioned, and I humbly thank you for them, and for the small ware I got as much more as they cost you.

The Business i now follow is plantasion makein Corn, Wheet, and Tobacco wich is the contry produse. I hope you and my mother is well and all my Relations. I rote to you for twenty pounds Starling wich I hope you will be so good as to send it as I want to go to house keepin my Self. I should be a blige to you to send me these things Besides the cash: a four Gallon pot and a Eight Gallon ditto, a pint pot and a quart ditto, 2 Candle Sticks, half a dozen of pewter plates, 2 dishes, a rugg, 2 Blankets, a pare of Sheets, a Bed tick and a Bolster, 2 half Gallon Basons, 2 Gallon ditto, a Gridiron, Box Iron, heters. I hope you will send me some check and some ozinbriggs — some Nankeene for a Jacket and Breeches and fustane for a Coat. I hope my Brothers is well and am much oblige to them for thare gift they sent me.

I hope if you send no goods to send me a letter by some of Mr. Buchanan ships In pertuxen.<sup>1</sup> Direct for William Roberts at Alexander Carvil in West river Near South river, Maryland.

So no more from your humble Servant  
William Roberts.

1. Patuxent River.

## 6.

To Mr. John Broughton in Woltnut tree Walk, Lambeth, near Westminster Bridge in the county Surrey.

Sir

August 9 1769

I hope these lines will find you in good health as i am at present, likewise my dear Mother. When you was please to Send me the clothes I rote two Letters and last year two more from wich I never recive no Answer wich makes me Uneazy. Mr. Buchanan is Left Maryland unknown to me or els i would have sent a Letter by him to you, but if you Inquire of him he tell you the character I bear in Maryland.

I should be veary glad if you woud put it [in] my power To rent a peice of Land so that I mite go to house keepin my Self. Last January I rented a plantasion at 10 pound a yeare Between me and a Nother young man wich as cause me to go more on Credit then what I woud doe if i could help it. We have had a veary dry summer in our Parrish So that I dont think we shall make aney Tobacco and our Corne is veary poor, I shure without rain soon we shant make half Crops. I have followd plantation work ever sence I have Left England. I am veary sorry to hear the Character of my two Brothers, Tradesmen hear lives like Gentlemen that dont give themselves to drink tho there is sum as Sorry for it. For my part I Belive i was Born under a Bad planet or Else i mite had a Trade two and not a Sufferd the heate of Sun from day Break tell dark, But however I hope by Gods Blessing to live an honest Life if it is a hard one. Thank God i have got an honnest Character as aney young man that Ever crost the Seas and Mr. Buchanan can tell you the same from the Last Gentleman I live with, one Mr. Gassaway, that he Noes veary well.

I Recive the Goods you sent by Capt. Smith wich I returne you many thanks and if you have aney more old Clothes I shud be ablige to you for them. You Promise me a Gun, powder and sum Brister Shott but them I never Recive. I fancy the *Snow* Belongin to Marchant Buchanan wont come In South River No more as there is No Tobacco made there. If not and you Please to send them by Capt. Richardson [who] Now Sails for Marchant Groves In London.

My duty to my Mother, I hope she is well, likewise my Brothers, my Uncles and Aunts, and all Relations I desire to be Remember to all.

So no more from your Strayed Nephew  
William Roberts.

Direct for me at Mr. Alexander Carvil Near South River, Maryland.

## 7.

To Mr. John Broughton in Wholnut tree walk Near Westminster Bridge in the county of Surrey.

Dear Uncle and Loveing Mother

August 10 1769

I hope these lines will find you in good health as I am at present, thanks be to God for it. I shud be glad if my Mother woud Let my Brother George or my Brother Edward rite a Letter to me concerning how my Mother Lives Now she is a Widow, I shud be glad to hear from Both my Brothers how they live in the world. Sometimes I have thought of comin home to England to se my dear Mother and the rest of my Relations and then a gain I think as I am No trade that I Better stay ware I am as I think by my Uncles Letters that he will a Sist me hear. I have Never heard from Uncle sence I Re-

cived the Goods two Year ago wich I return him many thanks for them. I am veary Sorry to hear of [the] death of my poor Father and the Bad Account of my Brothers, I hope they Never will Se the Usage that there poor Brother has in a distant Country.

I could live veary well if I had aney Relation that woud help me to a Bout twenty pound Starling besides these things, that is: a Bed tick, Bolster, two pillars, a pair of Blankets, Quilt [?], and a pair of Sheets. If my Uncle as got aney old Clothes I shud be glad if he woud Send them to me, I am Bear for Shirts. Last January I and a Nother young man rented a place at 10 pound a year [but] the Summer as been So dry that there is veary poor prospect of makein either Corn or Tobacco. Last Summer I work by water But got so Little by it that I reckon to leave it of[f] and follow what I first lant, plantasions Work. Mr. Buchanan went home unknown to me or Els I woud Sent a Letter by him to you But he can tell you the Character I Bear in Maryland.

You promise me a Gun and some powder and Brister Shott. Please to Let her be a Bout five foot by the Barrel and three quarter of inch Bore, onethat will kill about a Hundred Yards. If you think proper to send me some Check of a Bout thirteen pence a yard I can dispose of it at half a Crown<sup>1</sup> Current money for Shirts, if it is good three Shillings.

Please to direct to me at Mr. Alexander Carvil, Near South River, Maryland.

So no more from your Unhappy Nephew  
William Roberts.

1. Two shillings and six pence.

## 8.

Letter from Thomas Hunt of Aldermanbury, London to Mr. John Broughton of Walnut Tree Walk, Lambeth, Surrey.

Sir

25 January 1768

By a Letter lately from my Friend Mr. Sam Buchanan he gives the following account of your Nephew, *viz*: "I saw Mr. Broughton's Nephew a few days ago, enclosed you have a Letter from him to his Uncle, also a Letter from the Gentleman he has lived with some time past recommending him as a Sober honest Young Man — Mr. Gassaway is a Man of Reputation, what he says may be depended on, as Mr. Broughton seems desirous of setting his Nephew forward in the World I think he cant take a better method of doing it than by complying with what his Nephew Asks. I dare say the Young Man will do very well and what he writes for I think is very moderate."

I should have sent the Enclosed to you sooner but delayd it intending to call myself but being prevented by business I have taken this Method. Mr. S. Buchanan desires to be remembered to you and I hear with great pleasure he has experienced your directions — and that to the Credit of both Master and Scholar. Mr. Buchanan, his father, [who] lives in Tower Street, has a ship to where your Nephew lives [and] in about a fortnight she will sail. Should you be enclined to send anything to him, by calling early any Morning you will met Mr. Buchanan at home who will advise you the best way and when to send it using either his Son's or my Name — if it is a box or trunk the best way I should think would be to request it to be sent down with Mr. Buchanan's own Goods, and if you want any further directions how to act by calling on me at any time you may readily Command.

Sir, Your most humble servant,  
Thomas Hunt

## REFERENCES

1. The letters are to be found in the Public Record Office, (hereafter PRO), London, C107/171, *Roberts v. Monk*. I am indebted to Dr. Edward C. Papenfuse for making their existence known to me.
2. Aubrey C. Land, ed., *Letters from America by William Eddis* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), pp. 37-38.
3. William Bullock, *Virginia Impartially Examined* (London, 1649), p. 14.
4. Sir Josiah Child, *A New Discourse of Trade* (London, 1693), p. 170.
5. Marcus W. Jernegan, *Laboring and Independent Classes in Colonial America, 1607-1783* (Chicago, 1931), pp. 45-47; Marcus Lee Hansen, *The Atlantic Migration, 1607-1860* (Cambridge, Mass., 1940), pp. 34, 37; Thomas J. Wertenbaker, *The First Americans* (New York, 1927), pp. 25, 63; Abbot E. Smith, *Colonists in Bondage, White Servitude and Convict Labor in America, 1607-1776* (Chapel Hill, 1947), pp. 3, 7.
6. Mildred Campbell, "Social Origins of Some Early Americans," in *Seventeenth-Century America*, ed. James Morton Smith, (Chapel Hill, 1959), pp. 63-89; Wesley Frank Craven, *White, Red, and Black: The Seventeenth-Century Virginian* (Charlottesville, 1971), pp. 1-37; Russell R. Menard, "Immigration to the Chesapeake colonies in the seventeenth century: a review essay," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 68 (1973): 323-32; David Souden, "'Rogues, Whores and Vagabonds'? Indentured Servant Emigrants to North America, and the case of mid-seventeenth-century Bristol," *Social History* 3 (January 1978): 23-41; David Galenson, "'Middling People or Common Sort?': Social Origins of Some Early Americans Reexamined," *William and Mary Quarterly* [hereafter WMQ], 3rd ser., 35 (July 1978): 499-524; James P. P. Horn, "Servant Emigration to the Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century," in *The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society and Politics*, ed., Thad W. Tate and David L. Ammerman, (Chapel Hill, forthcoming).
7. A number of letters were written by George Alsop, author of "A Character of the Province of Maryland," between 1658 and 1662. The relatively short period they cover and Alsop's florid prose somewhat diminish their value. See C. C. Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland, 1633-1684* (New York, 1910), pp. 371-387. No other series of letters written by servants or freedmen have yet been discovered for colonial Maryland.
8. This is a supposition based on references in *Letter 8* which describe William Roberts in 1768 as a young man. It is assumed that he was about thirty years old at this time. In a sample of two hundred indentured servants who emigrated from London to the Chesapeake between 1718 and 1759, nearly 80% were between the ages of fifteen and twenty-one. The most common age at which servants emigrated was eighteen. See Jack and Marion Kaminkow, *A List of Emigrants from England to America, 1718-1759* (Baltimore, 1964), *passim*.
9. His two brothers were Edward and George. They are mentioned in *Letters 3, 5-7*.
10. John Broughton was the brother of William Roberts' mother, Letitia. He died in 1789 worth over £10000; see PRO, C12/623/10, *Roberts v. Monk*, and C33/474, pt. 1, ff. 204-05. Charing Cross is in the west of London.
11. Broughton seems to have promised his nephew some sort of assistance in Maryland following the latter's period of servitude. Roberts' letters imply that this was a firm commitment, but what his uncle thought about the matter is unknown. See *Letter 2*: "My Uncle told me find Stores [fine stories] of what he doo for me but I have Receive non nor yett a Letter."
12. *Letter 2*.
13. *Letter 1*.
14. Entry of June 23, 1756, Naval Officer's Returns for the Port of Annapolis, 1748-1759, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland.
15. Roberts directed replies to his letters to Mr. Alexander Carvill, "In West River Near the Mouth of South River." See *Letters 2, 5*.
16. *Letter 3*.
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Ibid.* Current money was the legal tender of Maryland in the 18th century. It was worth about two-thirds of the value of sterling by 1760.
19. *Letter 4*.
20. Nicholas Gassoway is recorded in the 1776 census as having seventeen slaves. His name is entered on the same page as that of William Roberts, (p. 8). See Gaius Marcus Brumbaugh, *Maryland Records, Colonial, Revolutionary, County and Church from Original Sources* (Baltimore, 1967), Vol. 1, p. 414.



21. *Letter 6.*
22. Brumbaugh, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 412-14. In 1776, a William Roberts was recruited for military service by Lieutenant Samuel Chew of Anne Arundel County. He was described as being five feet six inches tall, while we know from *Letter 3* that Roberts was five feet five inches in height. It is possible that they are one and the same man. See William Hand Browne, *et al*, eds., *Archives of Maryland*, 72 vols., (Baltimore, 1883-), 18:40.
23. 1783 State Assessment return for Rhode River Hundred, Anne Arundel County. The assessment lists are in the Scharf Collection, Maryland Historical Society.
25. PRO, C33/474, pt. 1, ff. 204-05.
26. *Ibid.* For an account of John Broughton's goods in 1789, see PRO, C12/623/10, *Roberts v. Monk*.
27. The *London Gazette* of March 16-20, 1790, (No. 13184), 169, carried the following notice: "Pursuant to the Decree of the High Court of Chancery, made [in] a Cause Roberts against Monck, the several next of Kin of John Broughton, late of Lambeth, in the County of Surrey, Yeoman, are, personally or by their Solicitors, to come in before William Weller Pepys, Esq., one of the Masters of the said Court... and prove their Relationship, or in Default thereof they will be excluded the Benefit of the said Decree." In the following month, this notice was repeated with the difference that a time limit was included. Broughton's kin were obliged to present themselves to the above Pepys "on or before the 22nd Day of May next, and prove their Relationship, or in Default thereof they will be peremptorily excluded the Benefit of the said Decree," *London Gazette*, April 13-17, 1790 (No. 13192), 229.
28. Menard, "From Servant to Freeholder: Status Mobility and Property Accumulation in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," *WMQ*, 3rd ser., 30 (1973): 37-64; Menard, P. M. G. Harris, Lois Green Carr, "Opportunity and Inequality: The Distribution of Wealth on the Lower Western Shore of Maryland, 1638-1705," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 69, (1974): 169-84; Menard and Carr, "Servants and Freedmen in Early Colonial Maryland," in Tate and Ammerman, eds., *op. cit.*; Lorena S. Walsh, "Servitude and Opportunity in Charles County, Maryland, 1658-1705," in *Law, Society, and Politics in Early Maryland*, ed., Aubrey C. Land, Edward C. Papenfuse, and Lois Green Carr, (Baltimore, 1977), pp. 111-33; Paul G. E. Clemens, "Economy and Society on Maryland's Eastern Shore, 1689-1733," Land, Papenfuse, and Carr, eds., *op. cit.*, pp. 153-70.
29. Menard and Carr, "Servants and Freedmen."
30. Menard, "From Servant to Freeholder," 52-64. See also Walsh, "Servitude and Opportunity," pp. 122-28.
31. Carville V. Earle, "The Evolution of a Tidewater Settlement System, All Hallows Parish, Maryland, 1650-1783," (University of Chicago, Department of Geography, Research Paper No. 170, 1975), p. 209.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 210.
33. Assuming that tobacco was two pence per pound this would amount to £10 current money per year, exactly what William Roberts intended to pay. *Ibid.*, pp. 212-13.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 213. See also Clemens, "Economy and Society," p. 166.
35. Gregory A. Stiverson, "Landless Husbandmen: Proprietary Tenants in Maryland in the Late Colonial Period," in Land, Papenfuse, and Carr, eds., *Law, Society, and Politics*, pp. 197, 211 note 42.
36. Barbara and Cary Carson, "Styles and Standards of Living in Southern Maryland, 1670-1760," (paper presented to the Southern Historians Conference, Nov. 1976), Table IIB.
37. *Letter 3.*
38. Carsons, *art. cit.*, Tables, IA and IIA. Of all householders in St. Mary's County, Maryland, 1670-1705, worth between £11 and £20, 5.4% owned bedsteads; 18.9% owned chairs; 8.1% owned tables; and none possessed any knives or forks.
39. *Letter 3.*
40. *Letter 2.*
41. *Letter 7.*
42. *Letter 3.*
43. *Ibid.*
44. *Letter 7.*
45. *Letter 6.*
46. *Letters 3-7.*
47. *Letter 2.*
48. *Letter 4.*

49. Letter 5.
50. Letter 6.
51. Letter 7.
52. *Ibid.*
53. I followed the "expanded method" outlined in Frank Freidel, ed., *Harvard Guide to American History* (Cambridge, Mass., rev. ed., 1974), pp. 1, 30-31.

# 1784: The Year St. John's College Was Named

CHARLOTTE FLETCHER

**A** WESTERN SHORE COLLEGE WAS CHARTERED BY THE MARYLAND GENERAL Assembly in late December 1784 and given the name St. John's College. Contemporary records do not reveal how and why the name was chosen.

If the college was named for a saint there are three strong contenders. First, there is St. John Chrysostom. In 1807 he was a favorite of two of the college's early graduates, John Shaw and Francis Scott Key (class of 1796), who were young poets with literary ambitions. Chrysostom, the "golden-mouthed" bishop of Constantinople, was like a muse to John Shaw. "By the blessing of St. Chrysostom," he wrote Francis Scott Key on January 24, 1807, "As I am in great haste, and in no less need for our Saint's assistance, I hope you have not forgotten our plans, but will soon be ready in the litany, *O Sancte Chrysostome! ora pro nobis*. I have examined the college library and find many valuable books in it. There is an edition of Chrysostom in twelve volumes, three of which are wanting. . . ."<sup>1</sup>

After 1870, John the Evangelist was generally accepted as the favored saint. Assuming this in a dedication speech at the opening of Woodward Hall on June 18, 1900, John Wirt Randall commented that the Evangelist's name was particularly appropriate for an educational institution because his was a name "suggestive more than that of the other apostles of the relation between a scholar and a teacher."<sup>2</sup> St. John's College at Cambridge University was indeed named for the Evangelist. Randall knew this and also that a college historian of the 1870s had claimed certain unnamed 1784 incorporators had attended St. John's College, Cambridge. For this reason, it was believed, the Annapolis college had been named "St. John's" after the Cambridge college.<sup>4</sup>

In 1894 Bernard Steiner introduced another theory about the origin of the college's name. He wrote: "other authorities say the name (St. John's) was given in compliment to the Masonic fraternity then very strong in Annapolis."<sup>4</sup> It is true the seal of St. John's College, as well as that of Washington College founded 1782 bears a masonic symbol. It is also true that the old masonic lodge of Annapolis warranted by the St. John's Grand Lodge of Massachusetts in 1750 was a St. John's lodge. It was a "modern," i.e., descended from the Grand Lodge of England (founded 1717). Other Maryland lodges of the colonial period were chartered by the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania and were "ancients," or Ancient York Masons. It was customary to call all local lodges

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Charlotte Fletcher lives in Annapolis.

which were warranted by Grand Lodges by the generic name, St. John's lodges.<sup>5</sup>

But if the college was named in compliment to a "masonic fraternity then very strong in Annapolis," as Steiner suggested, a third saint, John the Baptist, could have been the one honored in the naming of the college. The Masons honored two St. Johns, John the Baptist and John the Evangelist.

Steiner's statement is also unclear in its reference to an active masonic fraternity because the old Annapolis St. John's Lodge was moribund after 1764.<sup>6</sup> Yet many Masons visited Annapolis in the revolutionary period. They came from the counties of Maryland and other states of the Confederation to attend the Continental Congress, the General Assembly and the General Courts. They included officers in the Maryland Line<sup>7</sup> and other distinguished military figures. Moreover, throughout the state new "ancient" lodges were being warranted under the Pennsylvania Grand Lodge; and members of "modern" lodges who wished to enter into the mysteries of Ancient York Masonry were being "healed." Two Masons in Kent County were active in promoting Ancient York Masonry in Maryland during the 1780s: they were the Rev. William Smith and Peregrine Leatherbury, who had been among the incorporators of Washington College in 1782.<sup>8</sup> The year before, Smith, the Grand Secretary of the Pennsylvania Grand Lodge, had digested and abridged an *Ahiman Rezon*, or book of masonic constitutions, for the Pennsylvania Grand Lodge. Published in 1783 it was a guide to Masons on moral conduct and discretion, and laid out an orderly procedure to be followed at lodge meetings. Repeatedly, it designated the two St. Johns' days, that of the Baptist on June 24 and of the Evangelist on December 27, for special business and festive occasions.<sup>9</sup> But it offers no information about the masonic symbols used in Europe and America at the time on official seals like those of Washington and St. John's colleges.

Two books on European masonry of the period, however, do offer examples of masonic symbols used as teaching devices. A famous old Russian Mason in Tolstoy's *War and Peace* described one to Pierre Bezuhov when he instructed him in the mysteries of Masonry. The old man pictured a mount raised stone by stone by succeeding generations on which the temple of wisdom, or Solomon's temple was erected.<sup>10</sup> This description was an aid in identifying the device adopted for the St. John's seal (see Figure 1); a count of the layers of stones in the pile numbers seven, the usual number of steps leading up to Solomon's temple and a number corresponding to the seven masonic virtues. On the St. John's seal a man climbing aloft carries a T-square.<sup>11</sup>

Another book about European masonry of this period, Jacques Chailley's *Magic Flute: a Masonic Opera*,<sup>12</sup> is replete with illustrations of masonic devices. Washington College, founded 1782, adopted one which shows a shield hung from a column: three stars on the shield symbolize the three masonic degrees of St. John's Masonry, apprentice, fellow-craft and master mason. Key-like tools hold garlands of roses as a drapery above the column to celebrate the enthusiasm which brought about the founding of the college. A pic-



FIGURE 1.

Seal of St. John's College adopted 1793.

ture in Chailley's book<sup>13</sup> identifies these tools as miniature trowels used in masonic rites to "seal" the mouths of initiates (Figure 2), i.e., to remind them of the first masonic virtue, discretion, or the keeping of secrets.

The date on the Washington College seal — 1782 — commemorated the year when that college was founded, and when two well-established masonic lodges were flourishing in Kent County.<sup>14</sup> If the St. John's seal had been likewise dated with the year when it was chartered, its seal might also constitute evidence of a masonic fraternity in Annapolis in 1784. But the St. John's seal is dated 1793, the year when the Board of Visitors and Governors ordered that a seal be designed and executed to imprint diplomas for the college's first graduates.<sup>15</sup> Coincidentally, it also commemorated a significant date for Annapolis Masonry: in 1793 the Amanda Lodge No. 12, an "ancient," was founded, creating a brotherhood of Annapolis Masons to help lay the cornerstone of the new capitol at Washington in November 1793.<sup>16</sup> The masonic device on the St. John's seal dated 1793, then, does not refer to a masonic fraternity in Annapolis in the 1780s and does not substantiate Steiner's theory.

Yet a masonic enthusiasm was promoting education throughout Maryland in the 1780s. In 1784 the imminent creation of a Western Shore college was greeted with fervor by Freemason William Smith in his introduction to *An Account of Washington College*. The preamble of the "Charter of 1782" published therein described an eventual state university comprised of a



FIGURE 2.  
Seal of Washington College dated 1782.

Western and Eastern Shore college united under “one supreme legislative and visitatorial jurisdiction.” Smith’s uplifting and inspiring introduction was written in the spirit of the times:

... For however flattering it may be to consider the growth of these *rising states* as tending to encrease [sic] the wealth and commerce of the world; they are to be considered in another more serious view, as ordained to enlarge the sphere of HUMANITY. In that view the great interest of civil LIBERTY, the parent of every other social blessings, will not be forgotten. . . . We must regard the great concerns of *religion* and another world. We must attend to the rising generation. The souls of our youth must be nursed up to the love of LIBERTY and KNOWLEDGE; and their bosoms warmed with a sacred and enlightened zeal for every thing that can bless or dignify the species. . . .<sup>17</sup>

In the spirit — wishing “to attend to the rising generation” and to found a university — a group of gentlemen met in Annapolis to promote a Western Shore college on December 3, 1784. They ordered

that the reverend John Carroll, William Smith D.D. and Patrick Allison, D.D. together with Richard Sprigg, John Steret and George Digges Esquires, be a committee to complete the heads of a bill for founding a college on the Western Shore, and to publish the same immediately, with a proper preamble for taking in subscriptions. . . .

Accordingly, by December 16 the text of “A Draught of a Proposed Act, Submitted to Public Consideration, for Founding a College on the Western Shore

of This State, and for Constituting the Same, together with Washington College on the Eastern Shore, into One University, by the Name of The UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND" was released to the public.<sup>18</sup>

One subscription list was actually filled by December 16. Known as the Annapolis list it bore signatures of sixty-two subscribers who pledged a total of 2703 pounds. Those who pledged were planters, legislators, state officials, a barracksman, a silversmith, a carpenter, a clergyman, a tavern-keeper, a barber, a sea captain, and all the merchants of Annapolis.

The six men ordered "to complete the heads of a bill for founding a college on the Western Shore" were to be known as "subscription agents." They were a clergyman and a layman from each of the three major religious denominations in Maryland, the Roman Catholic, the Presbyterian and the Protestant Episcopal. Of these men only William Smith was from an Eastern Shore county.

The "Draught" borrowed large portions of the Washington College charter of 1782 but added a new preamble and plan for electing members to the Board of Visitors and Governors. Much else was left out because, as they explained, it would merely repeat similar articles in the "Charter of 1782."<sup>19</sup>

A letter written by William Smith dated January 16, 1785, told how in early December he had been called "in Conjunction with two Clergymen of other Denominations . . . to draft the University Law which we happily did with great Unanimity."<sup>20</sup>

While "happily" drafting the "Proposed Act," the subscription agents expanded paragraph 9 of the "Charter of 1782" which read "youth of all religious denominations shall be freely and liberally admitted . . . according to their merit . . . without requiring or enforcing any religious or civil [sic] test" by adding "without urging their attendance upon any particular worship or service, other than what they have been educated in, or have the consent and approbation of their parents or guardians to attend." Apparently, the authors of the text which finally became the "Charter of 1784" intended that students should enjoy religious liberty and that the college would nurture students in their own faith, for as John Carroll said, "it being an intended stipulation that provision be made, from the College funds, if necessary, to procure all of them opportunities to frequent their particular forms of worship."<sup>21</sup>

To this paragraph on civil liberty in the "Draught," the "charter of 1784" added an introductory clause for emphasis, saying, the college would be established "upon the following fundamental and inviolable principles" — and made several other changes as well. Where the "Draught" had read "upon the most liberal and catholic plan," the "Charter of 1784" omitted the word "catholic."<sup>22</sup>

William Smith explained the necessity for omitting "and catholic." The word "catholic," he wrote, "although intelligible enough to many, yet it is not approved by many others, on account of the vulgar application to one particular church."<sup>23</sup> He continued to use it in his own letters, however, in its all-embracing sense. When the "Charter of 1784" was finally enacted, he proudly commented that "Maryland has been among the last of the States in her Pro-

visions for Learning; but none of them can boast so noble a Foundation as her University now is."<sup>24</sup>

In May 1783, eighteen months before the passage of the "Charter of 1784," William Paca and his Council sent a message to the General Assembly recommending that the legislature give special attention to two issues as soon as Peace was firmly established: "Trade and Commerce" first, and then "Matters of so high Concernment as Religion and Learning."

For the latter they recommended "Public support for the Ministers of the Gospel" which the Maryland Bill of Rights allowed, and acknowledging the strong public encouragement given Washington College as shown by the

Zeal of the Eastern Shore for the Advancement of Learning that the Sum of five thousand pounds which the Act required . . . has been nearly doubled in less than One Year,

they trusted that

the General Assembly will think this College deserving of their further Attention and favors, and will extend their Views to the establishing and encouraging other Seminaries of Learning in this State.<sup>25</sup>

As a matter of fact the three clergy agents who were commanded in December 1784 to "complete the heads of a bill for founding a college on the Western Shore," had been engaged in "Religion and Learning" all their lives. All were teachers and educators. John Carroll was a graduate of St. Omer's College in France and of the Jesuit academy at Liège, Belgium; he was a priest and a teacher at the Jesuit college in Bruges, until the Jesuit order in Belgium was suppressed by papal bull in 1773. In 1784 he was organizing the American Catholic Church. Patrick Allison, a graduate and then a teacher at the College of Philadelphia, came to Maryland in 1764 to become pastor of the Baltimore Presbyterian Church for the remainder of his life. And last, there was William Smith, a graduate of the University of Aberdeen, the young Scotsman whom Benjamin Franklin had recruited to develop the Philadelphia Academy into a college; he had been the teacher of Natural Philosophy and Provost of the College of Philadelphia from the time the College was chartered in 1753 until the revocation of its charter in 1779. In 1784 he was rector of Chester Parish, Kent County, and President of Washington College, as well as a leader in the formation of the new Protestant Episocopal Church.<sup>26</sup>

All three were polemicists who wrote pamphlets, letters to the newspapers and petitions to the Assembly on behalf of their particular churches, sometimes attacking each other. Though sectarian interests divided them, the rise of Freemasonry may have created a climate which allowed them to work in concert for the advancement of learning. John Carroll indeed described a new kind of religious freedom in America following the Revolution, saying

in these United States our Religious System has undergone a revolution if possible, more extraordinary, than our political one. In all of them free toleration is allowed to Christians of every denomination; and particularly in the States of Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia, a communication



of all Civil rights, without distinction or diminution, is extended to those of our Religion. This is a blessing and advantage, which is our duty to preserve & improve with utmost prudence.<sup>27</sup>

Either Freemasonry or the Spirit of '76, or both, created such a climate. In the fall of 1784 John Carroll was replying to a "Letter to the Roman Catholics of Worcester," which was published in three different issues of the *Maryland Gazette*<sup>28</sup> after having been printed as a pamphlet in Philadelphia the previous winter. The author, Charles Wharton, his cousin and an ex-Jesuit, had recently joined the Protestant Episcopal Church. In the "Letter" he explained to his former congregation in Worcester, England, the doctrinal reasons for his leaving the Roman Church. All three parts are scholarly, referring often to the church fathers, and especially to St. John Chrysostom, who he claimed supported his Protestant view of the Scriptures. Carroll, a convinced Catholic, took the opposite view and refuted this argument in a pamphlet, "An Address to Roman Catholics on Wharton."<sup>29</sup> He quoted from the volumes of Chrysostom that he found in the "public library" in Annapolis.<sup>30</sup> Responses from Catholic readers assured him that he had succeeded in reaffirming their faith. When Wharton published another letter, "To the Roman Catholics of Maryland,"<sup>31</sup> Carroll refused to reply: "I shall forbear reviving a spirit of controversy, *least* it should add fuel to some spark of religious animosity."<sup>32</sup> Carroll was eager that Catholic youths and teachers seize the opportunity offered them by the Maryland colleges.<sup>33</sup>

Patrick Allison, on the contrary, was far more contentious in 1783 and 1784 because he saw a concerted effort to set up a new established church in Maryland. Along with Anabaptists, Methodists, Quakers, and Roman Catholics, he continued to smart from having been taxed for the support of the Church of England in Maryland before 1776. Immediately after Governor Paca's address in May, 1783, he began writing a series of articles in the *Maryland Journal* against the tax proposed to "support the ministers of the Gospel." Allison thought the tax could only benefit the new Protestant Episcopal Church which had been designated heir to all real property of the old established Church of England. Moreover, because its membership and property already exceeded that of the other sects, the tax would extend its influence out of all proportion to that enjoyed by the others, and, indeed, lead to a new church establishment. To prevent such a development he suggested that former Church of England property be divided among all the sects who had paid a church tax before the Revolution.<sup>34</sup>

The first of Allison's articles (published July 15, 1783) attacked the clergyman nominated by the Maryland Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church to become the first bishop of Maryland, William Smith. Allison used his rapier pen exuberantly:

Nor is it my wish to disturb the reverend Dr. S. in his retirement from the world and the things of the world, where he is inhaling copious draughts of sublime contemplation, purifying himself by a course of mental recollection,

contrition, and extraordinary devotion, for the mitred honours to which he is destined.<sup>35</sup>

Smith took no lasting offence at Allison's attack even though it may have been one of the factors influencing the church to reject him as a candidate for bishop. Smith was perhaps toughened by years of controversy in Pennsylvania before coming to Maryland. In 1758 and 1759, while William Paca and Patrick Allison were attending the College of Philadelphia, Provost Smith was jailed by the Pennsylvania General Assembly on a charge of libel but with the backing of the trustees of the college had continued to conduct classes and to function as Provost while in jail.<sup>36</sup> An appeal to the King freed him but did not endear him to the Assembly: they already felt threatened because of Smith's efforts to promote the Church of England in Pennsylvania. Finally, in 1779 when they revoked the charter of the College of Philadelphia, he was ousted as both Provost and teacher. He then migrated to Chestertown and started a school. This school merged with the Kent County School and under his direction grew in size and importance to the point where its trustees petitioned the General Assembly of Maryland to charter it as Washington College.<sup>37</sup>

It seems most unlikely, however, that Smith, the Freemason, would have suggested the name "St. John" to honor a masonic fraternity in Annapolis at the time when the "Draught of a Proposed Act" was being written: he would have been afraid that such a suggestion might destroy the "great Unanimity" which the committee was enjoying. Furthermore, though many Catholics, and notably John Carroll's brother Daniel, belonged to the Masons, Carroll would have had a deep personal aversion to them: they had played an active role in the suppression of the Jesuits in Europe. But while he would not have chosen to honor the Masons, most likely he would not have objected to naming the college after his patron saint (who was one of the "Johns"). Allison, however, actually expressed his personal distaste for Masonry when he ridiculed Smith's participation in masonic purification rites.<sup>38</sup> Moreover, the Presbyterians (like the Jews) consider all members of a congregation saints, and they (the Presbyterians) scarcely ever name their institutions after one except St. Andrew and St. Giles. Those two agents, then, Carroll and Allison, would certainly not have suggested the name "St. John" to honor the Masons.

On December 24, 1784, ten days after its publication in Annapolis, the "Draught of a Proposed Act" appeared in Baltimore's *Maryland Journal*. Six days later a revised version which incorporated hitherto unpublished sections borrowed from the "Charter of 1782" was enacted by the House of Delegates. It included provisions for collecting revenues through licenses and taxes on the Western Shore for the support of the college<sup>39</sup> and outlined a policy for the governance of a University of Maryland. Where blanks had been left in the "Draught" for insertion of a name, "St. John's College" now appeared. The action was a "fait accompli" at the time the bill was introduced, for the *Journal* of the House reported neither motions nor discussion regarding the college's name.

Neither the *Maryland Gazette* and the *Maryland Journal*, nor the *Journals* of the Senate and the House of Delegates for the November 1784 Session of the General Assembly, explain what happened. Some special influence was at work in Annapolis during the last week of December 1784.

While Governor Paca spent Christmas at Wye Hall on the Eastern Shore, the General Assembly convened every day including Christmas and Sunday in Annapolis. Two major pieces of legislation which he had recommended in the message of 1783 were slated to come up during his absence: one bill embodied the interests of "Trade and Commerce"; the other, the interests of "Religion and Learning." Although promotion of the second, the "University Law" (St. John's College), began early in the session, action on it was delayed until the report from a conference of Maryland and Virginia legislators concerned with "Trade and Commerce" was pushed through the Assembly on December 27.

The *Journals* of the House and Senate report that General Washington and General Gates arrived in Annapolis on December 22. On the same day the following Maryland commissioners were appointed by the Assembly to confer with the Virginia delegation: Senators Thomas Stone, Samuel Hughes and Charles Carroll; and Delegates John Cadwalader, Samuel Chase, John DeButts, George Digges, Philip Key, Gustavus Scott and Joseph Dashiell. George Washington — now the lone Virginian for General Gates had fallen ill on arrival — was chosen to chair the Conference.

The Senate and House *Journals* give the barest facts about the Conference, and the newspapers less. A letter from George Washington, in Annapolis, to the Marquis de Lafayette in Paris on December 23, is more descriptive:

You would scarcely expect to receive a letter from me at this place. A few hours before I set out for it, I as little expected to cross the Potomac again this winter, or even to be fifteen miles from home before the last of April, as I did to make a visit in an air-balloon in France. I am here, however, with General Gates, at the request of the Assembly of Virginia to fix matters with the Assembly of this State respecting the extension of the inland navigation of the Potomac, and the communication between it and the western waters; and I hope a plan which will be agreed upon, to the mutual satisfaction of both States and to the advantage of the Union at large. . . .<sup>40</sup>

On December 22 five days of unremitting labor began for all the conferees. If there were any parties, balls or dinners given in honor of Washington between December 22 and 29, 1784, in Annapolis, the *Maryland Gazette* failed to report them. Near midnight on the 28th Washington wrote James Madison at the Legislature in Richmond, "It is now near 12 at Night, and I am writing with an Aching Head, having been constantly employed in this business since the 22nd without assistance from my Colleagues, Genl. Gates having been sick the whole time, and Colo. Blackburn not attending. . . ." <sup>41</sup>

The *Journals* of the House and Senate, however, do reveal one strange hiatus in these five days of intense legislative effort. On December 27 the commissioners who were preparing a Potomac bill introduced their report in the

House of Delegates and received a first and second reading early in the morning session (only nine dissenting votes were cast). From the House the bill was taken to the Senate where it was read and ordered "to lie on the table" until the Senate reconvened at five o'clock for a "post meridiem" meeting; the House followed suit and also adjourned for a "post meridiem" meeting to begin a half hour later than the Senate's.

When the Senate reconvened at five o'clock the Potomac bill entitled "An Act for Establishing a Company for Opening and Extending the Navigation on the River Patowmack" had a second reading; the Senate then concurred with the action taken by the House and adjourned, probably no later than six o'clock. The House had reconvened at five-thirty, and since they had no business to transact — their meeting had apparently been called so that they would be on hand if needed by the Senate — had adjourned forthwith.

The Potomac bill thus passed both Houses on December 27, 1784, the Festival Day of St. John the Evangelist, the anniversary celebrated by all Freemasons. On the following day, December 28, the Senate resolved "that an attested copy of the act . . . be transmitted to Gen. Washington and Gen. Gates . . . signing by the governor will be complied with when he returns to town."

On December 29, the House proceeded to take action on the second major bill of the session, the "University Law," which was submitted by gentlemen whose names were on a list of Annapolis subscribers dated December 16, 1784, begging that the General Assembly enact legislation to establish a Western Shore college.<sup>42</sup>

Like the "Draught of a Proposed Act" which headed all the subscription lists, the "Charter of 1784" allowed one vote toward election of a Visitor and Governor to each subscriber of nine pounds or more on any list totaling one thousand pounds. Other provisos in the Charter for electing members to the Board of Visitors and Governors differed in some significant respects from those in the "Draught." Where the "Draught" specified "person or persons" as sources from whom the agents might solicit contributions, and who might form a class of subscribers who could elect one board member, the "Charter of 1784" adds "bodies politic and corporate";<sup>43</sup> and where the "Draught" said the last seven members elected to the Board to complete an aggregate of twenty-four "may be chosen from this or any part of the adjacent states," the Charter narrows the geographical field to "any part of this state." The first seventeen members in both documents are required to be residents of the Western Shore.<sup>44</sup>

These are among the "considerable alterations" to which William Smith referred in a letter to the Rev. William White in late December 1784:

Considerable alterations were made in the plan first settled by Mr. Carroll, Dr. Allison and myself, respecting the *nice* provisos amongst different denominations in proportion to their *subscriptions*. The paper was printed off before I came over. But I was told by Carroll of Carrollton, Mr. Sprigg, etc., that the alterations were made in concert with Dr. Allison. I am satisfied, as I hope all our society will be, with the plan as it now is, and as I would have agreed it should originally have been, as I know that a *few grains* of mutual confidence

and benevolence among different denominations of Christians will be better than splitting and torturing a design of this kind with all the provisos possible . . . Carroll of Carrollton, Mr. Digges, etc. have subscribed liberally, as it is expected the rest of that society will do.<sup>45</sup>

During his less than peaceable sojourn among the Quakers in Pennsylvania, William Smith had very likely learned to call all denominations "societies," a term used by some denominations but very seldom used by the Episcopalians and Catholics to whom he referred in this letter. For example, the rapidly growing denomination of Methodists called themselves "members in society" and their congregations "societies" as late as 1857.<sup>46</sup> During Christmas 1784 they were organizing the Methodist Episcopal Church at a conference in Baltimore, declaring themselves independent of the British Conference in the choice of their bishops and superintendents; they were also laying plans to found a college of their own to educate their youth.

In response to the request of the Annapolis subscribers the House of Delegates on December 29, 1784 proceeded to order a committee of seven men — Samuel Chase, George Digges, Allen Quynn, Nicholas Carroll, John Cadwalader, David McMechen and Gustavus Scott — to prepare and bring in a bill for "Founding a college on the Western Shore of this State." Chase, Digges, Cadwalader and Scott had been on the committee to confer with Washington on the Potomac bill; all but Scott and Cadwalader were signers of the Annapolis subscription list dated December 16. The very next day they were ready with the bill.

The *Journals* reveal no additions or corrections to the bill as introduced on December 30. The name "St. John's College" as well as any other changes made in the "Draught" must have been agreed on beforehand. The only recorded discussion or motions on the House floor while the Act was under consideration came from jealous Baltimore town delegates: they proposed that some of the proceeds collected in Baltimore from the taxes and licenses designated for the support of the college be returned to Baltimore. When the question on the total bill finally came — no changes had been made in the text introduced by the committee — there were 33 yeas and 18 nays.

The nays came from the counties farthest removed from Annapolis — Harford, Cecil and Washington Counties; the Eastern Shore (they already had a college) and southern Maryland delegates were almost to a man in favor. The one Baltimore delegate who voted yea was David McMechen, a Freemason.<sup>47</sup>

One year before (December 23, 1783), when Washington had resigned as Commander-in-Chief before the Continental Congress in Annapolis, the Maryland House of Delegates had sent him the following message:

having by your conduct in the field gloriously terminated the war, you have taught us, by your last circular letter, how to value, how to preserve and to improve that liberty for which we have been contending. We are convinced that public liberty cannot be long preserved, but by wisdom, integrity, and a strict adherence to public justice and public engagements. The justice and these engagements, as far as the influence and example of one state can extend, we are

determined to promote and fulfill; and if the powers given to congress by the confederation should be found to be incompetent to the purposes of the union, we doubt not our constituents will readily consent to enlarge them; . . .<sup>48</sup>

Proud to have enlarged the powers of the Confederation by the expeditious passage of Washington's Potomac bill, the Maryland legislators named the Western Shore college for the day when his bill was enacted, the Feast Day of the Evangelist. (If the Eastern Shore had not already preempted the name for their college, "Washington" might have been a natural choice for the Western Shore college.) Not only was it a day which they had enjoyed in the company of their former Commander-in-Chief, but was a day which would have had special significance for Washington, the Freemason.

George Washington, private citizen in 1784, would have observed the Feast Day of the Evangelist. Young George had been initiated as a Mason in the Lodge at Fredericksburg on November 4, 1752. He attended various masonic functions while Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army, notably the celebration of the anniversary of the Evangelist in Christ Church, Philadelphia, on December 28, 1778, when William Smith preached the sermon. On December 23, 1783, the brethren in the Alexandria Lodge had sent greetings to him on his return home which he had acknowledged on the 28th of December as "Yr. Affect. Bro<sup>r</sup> & obed<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>." These were not Christmas greetings that were being exchanged: they were the customary exchange of greetings between Masons on the anniversary of the Evangelist — December 27. On June 24, 1784, on the anniversary of St. John the Baptist, another festival day observed by the Masons, Washington was invited to dine with Lodge No. 39 in Alexandria. He had replied, "I will have the honor of doing it. . . ." Minutes of Lodge No. 39 for that day record

The Worshipful Master Read to the Lodge a most instructive lecture on the rise, progress & advantages of Masonry & concluded with a prayer suitable to the occasion. The Master & Brethren then proceed'd to Jn<sup>o</sup> Wise's Tavern, where they Dined & after spending the afternoon in Masonick Festivity, returned again to the Lodge room. The Worshipful Master with the unanimous consent of the Brethren, was pleased to admit his Excellency, Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington as an Honorary Member of Lodge No. 39.<sup>49</sup>

Two months after his visit to Annapolis in December 1784, on February 28, 1785, Washington walked in a procession of Freemasons at the funeral of his friend William Ramsay.

Moreover, Maryland Masons were particularly in the habit of observing the St. Johns' days with festivities. According to Schultz, "it will be observed how scrupulously our Brethren of Maryland in the early times observed the Saint Johns' days and the custom was continued as we shall see by the Lodges in the jurisdictions for many years."<sup>50</sup>

It is possible that the Maryland General Assembly returned for a "post meridiem" meeting on December 27, 1784 for an evening dinner to celebrate the festival of the Evangelist with Freemason George Washington. The *Journals* of the House and Senate show that they did adjourn and reconvene in the evening, probably for a joint affair. The House had completed its business for the day; there was no reason for them to reconvene at five-thirty, one half hour later than the Senate had scheduled their evening meeting, unless it was to participate in some sort of event with members of the Senate, after the Senate had concurred with the House's action on the Potomac bill. The Senate reconvened at five o'clock. An hour would have given them ample time to read the Act and concur — no debate or voting was required for this. Their business could have been finished easily by six o'clock — in time for a St. John's dinner. The "post meridiem" meeting scheduled by both Houses on December 27, 1784 — a rare event in the recorded history of the two Houses — indicates some special circumstance.

Another possibility is that a festive dinner was held during the afternoon recess even though a majority of the legislators were not Masons. Certainly a number of them were Masons. Yet even those who were not accepted masonic rituals. Masonry provided an accepted ceremonial in the young republic: Washington, for example, as well as many other prominent men, was buried with masonic rites.

Nonetheless, in spite of much interest in Freemasonry in Annapolis during the 1780s there was no active Annapolis lodge in 1784. But gentlemen of the town enjoyed several social and literary clubs, notably the Hominy and Tuesday Evening Clubs, where subjects of literary and philosophical interest — and Freemasonry perhaps — were discussed by "enlightened men." The counties of the state and Baltimore, on the other hand, had only their masonic lodges for fraternal occasions and for intelligent conversation.

Also, Washington, the Freemason, was aware that a Western Shore college was being founded as part of a University of Maryland; he knew that an Act for establishing it would be introduced after he left Annapolis. Just a week later, on January 5, 1785, he wrote Samuel Chase, a member of both the committee to confer on the Potomac bill and the committee to present the "Charter of 1784" to the House of Delegates, that

the attention which your assembly is giving to the establishment of public schools, for the encouragement of literature, does them great honor: to accomplish this, ought to be one of our first endeavors; I know of no object more interesting. We want something to expand the mind, and make us think with more liberality, and act with sounder policy, than most of the States do. We should consider that we are not now in leading strings. It behooves us therefore to look well to our ways.<sup>52</sup>

Washington was clearly intrigued with the grander scheme of which the Western Shore college was a part — the University for "the encouragement of



literature" — and his letter showed that he must have talked about the bold scheme with Samuel Chase and perhaps others.

When eleven members were finally elected to the Board of Visitors and Governors in early 1786 from the various classes of subscribers, the Board was duly constituted. Under date of March 21, 1786 they published the following notice: "the subscribers of St. John's College, by order of the visitors and governors, are hereby requested to make their first payment to the subscriber, treasurer to the college on or before the first day of June next. (signed) BENJAMIN HARWOOD."<sup>53</sup> Previous to this, all notices published by the subscription agents had been addressed to "subscribers of *St. John's* or the Western Shore College." In the notice dated March 21, 1786 "Western Shore College" was omitted, and "St. John's College" appeared in roman type, alone, for the first time.

"St. John's College" became the corporate name when enacted in the "Charter of 1784." The tradition promulgated in 1870 which said that the college was named by its incorporators after an English institution had little basis. If honoring a noted English college had been the reason for calling the Annapolis college "St. John's," few of the Maryland populace would have been pleased so soon after the conclusion of a bloody war with Britain.

In 1971 the Board of Visitors and Governors of St. John's College, Annapolis and Santa Fe, were persuaded that prospective students and donors were repelled by the name "St. John's College," and they considered adopting a secular name instead.<sup>54</sup> At this time, President Richard D. Weigle searched the student rolls at St. John's College, Cambridge (also Oxford) University to discover which men associated with the 1784 incorporation had actually registered there. Evidently the generally accepted theory that the Annapolis college had been named after St. John's College, Cambridge (or Oxford), and which went unquestioned for many years thereafter, reflected the anglophilia of the 1870s rather than the anglophobia of 1784. For no names of men directly tied with the founding of the Maryland college were found.

Then, as a preliminary step in effecting a change in name, a committee of the Board sent a questionnaire to all alumni, students and faculty to gather their reactions. Response from the group was overwhelmingly in favor of continuing to operate as "St. John's College," a name now rich with associations gathered over the years, including the 1937 adoption of a curriculum nationally known as the St. John's Program.<sup>55</sup> The Board proceeded no further.

In 1786 the name already had strong associations, and the first Board of Visitors and Governors continued to use it. They did not revert to "Western Shore College," or any other name, although through process of law they could have. Indeed "St. John's College" proved so acceptable that it prevailed through the first stormy half century of the college's history, and long after participants in the naming had died. But no one had bothered to record the circumstances from living memory. Records show, however, that a remarkable legislative performance did take place on the Feast Day of St. John the Evangelist, December 27, 1784, when on behalf of their good friend, George Washington, Maryland legislators enacted the first piece of cooperative legislation

among the various states in the Confederation following the definitive "Treaty of Peace." They were naturally proud of a name which reminded them of that day, and they adopted it for the new college several days later.

Thus, even though there are no contemporary records stating why the college was called St. John's, one could infer that it was in honor of the Evangelist. Coincidentally, it was in compliment to the masonic fraternity of Annapolis in 1784; perhaps some few were reminded of the Cambridge college as well, although no contemporary records suggest this.

It is hard to understand why a cloud of mystery has ever since enveloped the circumstances of the naming. But if Masons were responsible, one could expect secrecy about their role: discretion, the keeping of secrets, is the first of the masonic virtues.

#### REFERENCES

##### *Acknowledgements*

I could not have accomplished the necessary research nor have written this paper without help from many quarters. Source material was obtained in the following collections: Episcopal Archives in Austin, Texas, the Hall of Records, the Maryland State Library and the St. John's College Archives in Annapolis; the Maryland Historical Society, the Maryland Diocesan Library and the Maryland Room of the Enoch Pratt Free Library in Baltimore; and the Manuscript and Rare Book Division at the Library of Congress. I am grateful to Kathryn Kinzer for many insights and for all the books she borrowed on interlibrary loan; to Roberta Hankamer, Librarian Grand Lodge of Masons, A.F. & M. Library, Boston; to Eva Brann, Mary Fletcher, Phebe Jacobsen, Mildred Trivers, Margaret Ross, Harriet Sheehy and Allison Karslake for reading my manuscript; to Archivist Miriam Strange for her constant helpfulness; and to President Richard D. Weigle for granting me two months' leave from my library duties in the summer of 1977.

1. *Poems by the late Doctor John Shaw, to which is prefixed a Biographical Sketch of the Author* (Philadelphia and Baltimore, 1810), pp. 92-93. A short essay on the "Eloquence of St. Chrysostom: with a translation of a homily on patience" was published by Shaw in *Port Folio*, n.s. 3 #2(1807): pp. 17-19.
2. *Memorial Volume: Dedication Ceremonies in Connection with the Formal Opening of the Henry Williams Woodward Hall at St. John's College, Annapolis, Md.* (Annapolis, 1900), pp. 30, 31.
3. Bernard Christian Steiner, *History of Education in Maryland*, Contributions to American Educational History, #19 (Washington, D.C., 1894), p. 103n.
4. Steiner, *History of Education in Maryland*, p. 103n.
5. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 11th ed., s.v. "Freemasonry;" *Coil's Masonic Encyclopedia*, s.v. "St. John As a Generic Term and As a Lodge Name;" Edward T. Schultz, *History of Freemasonry in Maryland*, 4 vols. (Baltimore: Mediarly, 1884), 1:389-390.
6. *One Hundredth Anniversary, 1848-1948, Annapolis Lodge No. 89, A.F. and A.M.* (Annapolis, n.d.), pp. 12, 13.
7. Generals Otto Holland Williams, John Swan, Mordecai Gist, Major Archibald Anderson, Capt. Stephen Decatur, Commodore James Nicholson, Col. Nathaniel Ramsey; see Schultz, *Freemasonry in Maryland*, 1:97-106. (General Lafayette also visited Annapolis many times.)
8. Schultz, *Freemasonry in Maryland*, 1:382, 393, 396, 397.
9. William Smith, *Ahiman Rezon, Abridged and Digested, As a Help to All That Are, or Would Be Free and Accepted Masons* (Philadelphia, 1783), pp. 62, 65, 66, 67, 80, 82, 83.
10. Leo Tolstoy, *War and Peace* (New York, 1931), pp. 323-336.
11. Motto encircling the St. John's seal: "Est Nulla Via Invia Virtuti" (No way impassable to courage). There are seven masonic virtues: (1) discretion, the keeping of secrets; (2) obedience to the higher authorities of the order; (3) morality; (4) love for mankind; (5) courage; (6) liberality, and (7) love of Death. See Tolstoy, *War and Peace*, p. 331.

12. Jacques Chailley, *The Magic Flute, the Masonic Opera: an Interpretation of the Libretto and the Music* (New York, 1971), pl. 35, p. 130.
13. *Coil's Masonic Encyclopedia*, s.v. "St. John."
14. Lodge No. 6 in Georgetown on the Sassafras and Lodge No. 17 at Chestertown were founded in 1766.
15. St. John's College, *Minutes of the Board of Visitors and Governors*, July 2, 1793: "Resolved: that Bishop Carroll, Bishop Claggett, Mr. Nicholas Carroll, Dr. Scott, Mr. John Thomas, Mr. Jennings and Mr. Hanson, or any three, be a committee to attend at any time, when requested by the principal for the purpose of superintending a private examination of such students as shall be candidates for the first degree to be conferred, at a commencement to take place in November next." "Resolved: that the said committee be authorized to procure for the board one *common public seal* and likewise one *privy seal* with such devices and inscriptions as they shall think proper; the particular uses of the said seals to be hereafter ascertained, fixed and regulated by this board.
16. *One Hundredth Anniversary*, pp. 13, 14.
17. William Smith, *An Account of Washington College* (Philadelphia, 1784), p. 2. Compare with Pierre Bezuhov's speech to the Petersburg lodge in 1809 (Tolstoy, *War and Peace*, p. 405).
18. *Maryland Gazette*, December 16, 1784.
19. For text of the Washington College charter of 1782 see Smith, *Account of Washington College*, pp. 5-14. Hereafter Washington College's charter will be cited as "Charter of 1782;" "Draught of a Proposed Act . . ." will be cited as "Draught" or "Proposed Act" (*Maryland Gazette*, December 16, 1784), the Act bearing the same name as the "Draught" will be cited as the "Charter of 1784," or the "University Law" (*Laws of Maryland, Made and Passed at a Session of Assembly Begun and Held at the City of Annapolis, on Monday the first of November, in the Year of Our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty-Four* [Annapolis, 1785], c. 36).
20. William Smith to William White, January 26, 1785. The Rt. Rev. William White Papers, v. 1, #56, Archives Historical Collection of the Episcopal Church, Austin, Texas.
21. *The John Carroll Papers*, ed. Thomas O'Brien Hanley, 3 vols. (Notre Dame, 1976), 1:158.
22. "Charter of 1782," paragraph 9: . . . "and youth of all religious denominations and persuasions, shall be freely and liberally admitted to equal privileges and advantages of education, and to all the literary honors of the college, according to their merit, and the standing rules of the seminary, without requiring or enforcing any religious or civil test whatsoever upon any student, scholar or member of the said college, other than such oath of fidelity to the state as the laws thereof may require of the Visitors, Governors, Masters, Professors and Teachers in Schools and seminaries of learning in general" (Smith, *Account of Washington College*, p. 10).  
 "Draught" "First, That the said intended college shall be founded and maintained for ever upon the most liberal and catholic plan for the benefit of the youth of every religious denomination, who shall be freely admitted to the equal privileges and advantages of education and to all the literary honours of the college according to their merit, without requiring or enforcing any religious or civil test or urging their attendance upon any particular religious worship or service, other than what they have been educated in, or have the consent and approbation of their parents or guardians to attend; nor shall any preference be given in the choice of a principal, vice-principal, or any professor or master in the said college on a religious score; but merely on account of his literary and other necessary qualifications to fill the place, for which he is chosen" (*Maryland Gazette*, December 16, 1784).  
 "Charter of 1784" "II. Be it enacted, by the General Assembly of Maryland That a college or general seminary of learning, by the name of Saint John's, be established on the said western shore, upon the following fundamental and inviolable principles, namely; first the said college shall be founded and maintained for ever, upon a most liberal plan, for the benefit of youth of every religious denomination, who shall be freely admitted to equal privileges and advantages of education, and to all the literary honours of the college, according to their merit, without requiring or enforcing any religious or civil test, or urging their attendance upon any particular religious worship or service, other than what they have been educated in or have the consent and approbation of their parents or guardians to attend" (*Laws of Maryland*, 1785, c. 36).
23. Smith to White, January 26, 1785. Speaking of opposition to the Religious Bill in the General Assembly of 1785, Smith wrote "some men who call themselves Christians, — but I need not tell you, seem never to be pleased with any Thing however *Christian*, or however

- Catholic, where their Numbers will not enable them to be the sole or chief Directors . . . " In passing it is interesting to note that the word "Christian" never appears in either the 1782 or 1784 charter.
24. Smith to White, January 26, 1785.
  25. *Archives of Maryland*, ed. William H. Browne, 72 vols. (Baltimore, 1883- ), 27:408-409.
  26. For Carroll see *John Carroll Papers*, 1:xlvi-li; for Allison see John H. Gardner, Jr., *First Presbyterian Church of Baltimore*. . . (Baltimore, 1966) and William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, 9 vols. (New York: Carter, 1857-69), 3:257-63; for Smith see Horace W. Smith, *Life and Correspondence of the Rev. William Smith*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1879), 1:22-28, 2:18-23, 34, 35 (2 vols. in 1 reprint 1972, New York, Arno).
  27. *John Carroll Papers*, 1:80, 81.
  28. *Maryland Gazette*, September 30, October 7, October 21, 1784.
  29. *John Carroll Papers*, 1:82-143.
  30. *John Carroll Papers*, 1:112: "I procured a friend to examine the edition of Chrysostom's work belonging to the public library in Annapolis." The "public library" — known today as the Annapolitan Library or the Thomas Bray Collection — is in the possession of the St. John's College Library and is on deposit at the Maryland Hall of Records on the college campus. These are the volumes referred to in John Shaw's letter January 24, 1807 (see note 16).
  31. "To the Roman Catholics of the State of Maryland; Especially Those of St. Mary's County," *Maryland Gazette*, November 25, 1784.
  32. *John Carroll Papers*, 1:191.
  33. *John Carroll Papers*, 1:185, 186. Carroll wrote to Father Eden at the Academy of Liège, April 1785: "Do you know any young men of improved abilities and good conduct, capable of teaching the different branches of science with credit and reputation? It is now in contemplation to establish two Colleges in this state, open to Professors and Scholars of all denominations, and handsome appointments are to be annexed to the professorships. To me it appears, that it may be of much service not only to Learning, but to true Religion, to have some of these Professorships filled by R. C. men of letters and virtue; and if one or two of them were in orders, it would be so much the better. . . ."
  34. *Maryland Journal* July 15, 1783, "To the Public:" October 28, 1783, "To the Hon. the General Assembly:" November 26, December 7, December 14, 1784, "To the People of Maryland;" December 28, 1784, "A Design to Raise One Sect of Christians above Another." A restatement of these articles may be found in Allison, *Candid Animadversions* cited in note 35.
  35. Patrick Allison, *Candid Animadversions on a Petition Presented to the General Assembly of Maryland by the Rev. William Smith and the Rev. Thomas Gates, First Published in 1783*. . . by Vindex (Baltimore, 1793) pp. iii-v, 1-16.
  36. University of Pennsylvania, *Minutes of the Trustees of the College, Academy, and Charitable School* (Wilmington, 1974), p. 91: "The Assembly of the Province having taken Mr. Smith into Custody, the Trustees considered how the inconvenience from thence arising to the College might be best remedied, and Mr. Smith having expressed a Desire to continue his Lectures to the Classes, which had formerly attended them, the Students also inclining rather to proceed on their Studies under his Care. They ordered that the said Classes should attend him for that Purpose at the usual Hour in the Place of his present Confinement."
  37. Smith, *Life and Correspondence of Rev. William Smith*, 2:34, 35.
  38. Schultz, *Freemasonry in Maryland*, 1:382-393: "When Bro. Smith removed to Maryland, he was the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, and as all Lodges of Ancient York Masons in Maryland were under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, he was active in his official and other Masonic duties. The Lodges which had existed in Maryland prior to the introduction of the Lodges by the Ancients, were held under the authority of the Moderns, or other branch of the Masonic fraternity, and as these had now no ruling head in America, many of their members sought admission into the Ancient York Lodges. Brother Smith, and Brother John Coats, a Past Deputy Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, who also resided at the time in Maryland, were deputed by the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania on the 2d of September, 1782, to take to their assistance such true brothers as they might see proper, and enter into the mysteries of Ancient York Masonry any respectable Modern Masons in Maryland who might desire to be so healed. . . ." and Allison, *Candid Animadversions*, p. 3.
  39. The sources of revenue are similar to those enacted for Washington College in "An Act to

- Provide a Permanent Fund for the Encouragement and Establishment of Washington College," *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Delegates for the State of Maryland* (Annapolis, 1783-5), pp. 15-18.
40. *Writings of George Washington*, ed. John C. Fitzpatrick, 39 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1931-44), 22:17, 18.
  41. *Writings of G. W.*, 22:20.
  42. Walter Bowie, James Brice, John Bullen, John Callahan, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, James Carroll, Nicholas Carroll, John Chalmers, J. Chase, Samuel Chase, Abraham Claude, John Davidson, George Digges, Joseph Dowson, Joseph Eastman, Joshua Frazier, Thomas Gates, Alexander Golder, John Graham, T. Green, William Hammond, Alexander Hanson, Benjamin Harwood, Thomas Harwood, William Harwood, Samuel Hughes, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, Thomas Jennings, John Johnson, Rinaldo Johnson, Philip Key, James Mackubin, Nicholas Mancubbin, George Mann, David McMechen, John Muir, James Murray, Ben Oake, Aquila Paca, William Paca, George Plater, Edward Plowden, Allen Quynn, James Reid, Christopher Richmond, Abasalom Ridgley, John Roger, Richard Sprigg, Charles Steuart, James Steuart, John Steuart, William Steuart, J. D. Stone, Thomas Stone, Michael Taney, Alexander Travers, James Tro(?), Charles Wallace, James Williams, Nathaniel Yates. (Annapolis Subscription List, December 16, 1784 in St. John's College Archives.)
  43. "Draught": "Thirdly, . . . agents . . . are hereby authorised and made capable to solicit and receive contributions and subscriptions . . . of any person or persons, who may be willing to promote so good a design."  
 "Charter of 1784": "III. . . . and they are hereby authorised to solicit and receive, subscriptions and contributions . . . of any person or persons, bodies politic and corporate, who may be willing to promote so good a design."  
 "Draught" and "Charter of 1784": "Secondly, there shall be a subscription carried on in the different counties of the western shore, upon the plan on which it hath been opened, for founding the said college; and the several subscribers shall class themselves, according to their respective inclinations, and for every thousand pounds current money which may be subscribed and paid, or secured to be paid, into the hands of the treasurer of the western shore, by any particular class of subscribers, they shall be entitled to the choice of one person as a visitor and governor of said college. . . ." The addition of "bodies and politic and corporate" allowed the King William School to give 2000 pounds and to qualify as two classes of subscribers, each of which could elect a member to the Board of Visitors and Governors of St. John's College.
  44. "Draught of a Proposed Act," *Maryland Gazette*, December 16, 1784: ". . . and provided further, that is in three years from the first day of June 1785, there shall not be twenty-four visitors and governors chosen as aforesaid by classes of subscribers of one thousand pounds, each class; the other visitors and governors being not less than eleven duly assembled at any quarterly visitation, shall proceed by election to fill up the number of twenty-four visitors and governors, as they shall think most expedient and convenient; provided nevertheless, that seventeen of the said visitors and governors shall always be residents on the western shore of this state, but that the additional visitors and governors (to make up and perpetuate the number of twenty-four) may be chosen from this or any part of the adjacent states, if they are such persons as can reasonably undertake to attend the quarterly visitations, and are thought capable, by their particular learning, weight, and character, to advance the interest and reputation of the said seminary. . . ."  
 "Charter of 1784: "IV. . . . Provided always, that seventeen of the said visitors and governors shall be resident on the western shore of this state, but that the additional visitors and governors (to make up and perpetuate the number of twenty-four) may be chosen from any part of this state, if they are such persons as can reasonably undertake the quarterly visitations, and are thought capable, by their particular learning, weight, and character, to advance the interest and reputation of the said seminary."
  45. Smith, *Life and Correspondence of Rev. William Smith*, 2:249.
  46. *The History of American Methodism*, 3 vols. (New York, 1964), 1:222.
  47. Schultz, *Freemasonry in Maryland*, 1:105.
  48. *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Delegates of the State of Maryland, 1783-85* (Annapolis, 1785), p. 73.
  49. William Morley Brown, *George Washington, Freemason* (Richmond, 1952), p. 332.
  50. Schultz, *Freemasonry in Maryland*, 1:76-78; and *Maryland Gazette*, December 29, 1763: "Tuesday last, being St. John's was observed by the Brethren of the Ancient and Honorable Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons with great order and decency."

51. *Coil's Masonic Encyclopedia*, s.v. "St. John." Smith, *Life and Correspondence of Rev. William Smith*, 2:85-86.
52. *Writings of G. W.*, 22:25-27.
53. *Maryland Gazette*, March 30, 1786. For earlier notices to subscribers see *Maryland Gazette*, June 9, 1785 (no name at all, only reference to the Act); December 1, 1785; January 12, 1786. First eleven members of the Board of Visitors and Governors who were elected March 1786: Thomas Claggett, D.D. and William West, D.D. (Episcopal clergymen, who would later be elected bishops); subscribers on the Annapolis list of December 16, 1784: Nicholas Carroll, John H. Stone, William Beans, Thomas Stone, Samuel Chase, Thomas Jennings, A. C. Hanson, John Thomas (a Quaker) and Richard Ridgeley.
54. Robert Reinhold, "For Relevance, the Students at St. John's College Turn to Galileo," *New York Times*, October 18, 1971, 39:1.
55. St. John's College, *Minutes of the Board of Visitors and Governors*, May 12 and 13, 1972. A branch college, St. John's College, Santa Fe, New Mexico, was founded in 1963.

# Lloyd Tilghman and Sherwood Manor

THOMAS MORE PAGE, C.F.X.

**T**HE SONS OF FAMOUS MEN OFTEN FALL VICTIM TO THE FATE OF OBLIVION. So much attention is paid to the exploits and accomplishments of their illustrious parents that, unless their children also achieve fame in their own right, they become either lost in history or buried in unread manuscripts and legal documents. Because sons are lost in the shadow of their famous parents, their biographical details are hard to come by.

Such is the case of Lloyd Tilghman, son of Matthew Tilghman, the patriarch of Maryland. Since there is no indication that he was prominent in the political and social life of Maryland or Talbot County either before or after the Revolutionary War, Lloyd is scarcely mentioned in any standard history of Maryland, the Eastern Shore, or Talbot County. If he is mentioned, it is usually by inference.

Scharf, for instance, after providing a summary of the life of Tench Tilghman, states that his "sisters married gentlemen of eminent respectability upon the Eastern Shore."<sup>1</sup> One of these respectable gentlemen was Lloyd, who had married Tench's sister, Henrietta Maria. In a paper delivered before the Maryland Historical Society on Rich Neck, Matthew's plantation manor, Joseph B. Seth notes the marriage of Lloyd's two sisters to prominent Marylanders: Margaret to Charles Carroll, Barrister; and Anna Maria to Colonel Tench Tilghman, adding that General Lloyd Tilghman of Confederate fame was a descendant of Matthew, while omitting that he was Lloyd's grandson.<sup>2</sup> And while Christopher Johnston's well-known genealogical study of the Tilghman family provides biographical information about most of the Tilghmans, it does not give any data about Lloyd, save the listing of his children.<sup>3</sup> Finally, in Oswald Tilghman's two-volume history of Talbot County, Lloyd is missing among the "worthies" of that county.<sup>4</sup> From all indications, then, Lloyd Tilghman, though son of a famous Marylander and related to so many illustrious Tilghmans and Lloyds, seems to have faded completely out of history.

Such also has been the fate of his federal plantation house, Sherwood Manor, a simple two-story brick house, built at the end of the eighteenth century and still standing on a piece of land not far from his father's plantation, Rich Neck. And while wide publicity has been given to such places in Talbot County as Rich Neck; Perry Cabin, the plantation home of his neighbors, the Hambletons; the Anchorage, the home of his pastor, the Reverend John Gordon; Plimhimmon, the estate of his sister, Anna Maria — Sherwood Manor finds no place in the history of historical Maryland homes.

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Br. Thomas More Page resides in Washington, D.C.



If Lloyd is a vague figure in the history of Talbot County, he was at the time of his death in 1811 one of the wealthier men in the county, with flourishing plantation farms extending throughout Tilghman's Island. With the division of his lands among his children and grandchildren, and with subsequent sales which caused the property to pass out of the hands of his descendents, his name all but passed into oblivion. The only visible trace of Lloyd is Sherwood Manor, which has managed to survive the vagaries of history and the tastes of its various owners.

This article is an initial effort to discover more about this seemingly quiet member of a famous Tilghman family. At the same time, it will provide historical data from primary sources on Lloyd's plantation house and the land on which it was built. And while Lloyd's place in the annals of Talbot County may continue to be a modest one, the history of Sherwood Manor, his plantation house, will add another piece to the rich mosaic of Talbot County's history.

The article is divided into two major parts: part one will be devoted to a short sketch of Lloyd; part two, to Sherwood Manor.

#### PART ONE: LLOYD TILGHMAN

##### Lloyd's Family

The roots of Lloyd's immediate family go back to the colonial period. Along with the Lloyds, the Bennetts, and the Goldsboroughs, the Tilghmans formed a squirarchy of great prestige, socially and politically. It is appropriate, then, before treating of Lloyd, to review briefly the history of the members of his family and that of his wife's, for it is against such a prestigious background that Lloyd's simple style of life stands out in bold perspective.

Lloyd's father was Matthew Tilghman, son of Richard Tilghman of Queen Anne's County. Matthew was born at the family ancestral home, The Hermitage, on February 17, 1718. Lloyd's mother was Ann Lloyd, daughter of James Lloyd.<sup>5</sup> At the age of fifteen, Matthew moved to Ward's Point, the home of his first cousin, Matthew Tilghman Ward, from whom he eventually inherited Rich Neck.

From the time he was appointed a Justice of the Peace for Talbot County in 1746, Matthew began a career that was to see him as a principal figure in the Maryland Proprietary Government as a delegate to the Lower House of the General Assembly. As Speaker in 1773 and 1774, he associated himself with a galaxy of rising stars: Samuel Chase, Thomas Johnson, William Paca, and Charles Carroll of Carrollton — all of whom spearheaded the battle of the country party against the Lord Proprietor and his spokesmen of the court party.

This political experience was to prepare him for an influential role in the struggle for independence. From 1774 to 1776, he headed every delegation to the Continental Congress. In 1775, he was chairman of the Maryland Convention called to establish a new government for the colony, and served as a chairman of the Convention which drafted the Constitution and Declaration of Rights, adopted November 8, 1776. With his cousin, Lloyd, he is considered as one among the group which carried Maryland from its colonial status to inde-

pendent statehood.<sup>6</sup> He was elected to the newly established Maryland Senate in 1776, reelected in 1781, and served as president in 1782. The following year, he retired to the Bayside, where he died on May 4, 1790.

His will, drawn up with meticulous care, gives the extent of his wealth and his vast land holdings in Talbot and Queen Anne's Counties.<sup>7</sup> Some idea of his real worth can be garnered from the 1783 Assessment, which listed him as possessing in Talbot County 3,986 acres of land, 102 slaves, 45 horses, 191 black cattle, and 420 ounces of plate valued at £175.16.8. The assessed value of his Talbot County wealth was placed at £10,040.15.<sup>8</sup>

The beneficiaries of Matthew's will were, besides Lloyd, his brother Richard, and his two sisters, Margaret and Anna Maria.<sup>9</sup> Richard (known as the IVth), was born January 28, 1746. He was commissioned May 8, 1777, first major of the Fifth Battalion of Queen Anne County.<sup>10</sup> He married Margaret Tilghman, daughter of his uncle Colonel Edward Tilghman of Wye.

Lloyd's two sisters married into distinguished families. Anna Maria, the eldest daughter, born July 17, 1755, married Tench Tilghman on June 9, 1783.<sup>11</sup> After graduation from college in Philadelphia in 1761, Tench remained in that city, joining his uncle in business until the outbreak of the war. Serving as Washington's military secretary during the conflict, he was selected by his general to carry the news of the Yorktown victory to Philadelphia. After the war he resumed his business in Baltimore as a partner of Robert Morris. On April 8, 1786, he died, being only forty-one years old.<sup>12</sup> In a letter of consolation to Thomas Ringgold Tilghman, George Washington wrote:

As there are few men for whom I had a warmer friendship or a greater regard than your brother, Colonel Tilghman, when living; so, with such truth I can assure you that there are none whose death I could more surely have regretted.<sup>13</sup>

Upon Tench's death, Anna Maria took up residence at the Plimhimmon estate in Oxford, which Matthew had purchased for her the year after Tench's death.<sup>14</sup> Here she lived out her remaining years, dying on January 13, 1843, at the age of 85.

Lloyd's other sister, Margaret, married Charles Carroll, Barrister, on June 23, 1763. *The Maryland Gazette* described her as "a young lady of great merit, beauty, and fortune."<sup>15</sup> Peale's portrait of her in Mount Clare, Baltimore, does justice to this description. Charles, educated in England, became at the age of 32 on the death of his father, "one of the wealthiest members of the Maryland aristocracy."<sup>16</sup> He was very active in the political life of Maryland, playing a vital role in the formative stages of Maryland's statehood. Mount Clare, the summer plantation of the Carrolls, was a center of colonial living and social life. Here they entertained such celebrities as John Adams, George Washington, and General Lafayette.<sup>17</sup>

### Lloyd's Wife's Family

If Lloyd's immediate family were prominent in the Maryland aristocracy and political life, through his wife, Henrietta Maria Tilghman, he was associ-

ated with some of the most prominent names in Philadelphia society. Henrietta Maria was one of ten children born to James and Anna Francis Tilghman. James,<sup>18</sup> born on December 6, 1716, after representing Talbot County in the Maryland Assembly, moved to Philadelphia, where he became an attorney to the Lord Proprietor, a member of Penn's Council, and Secretary of the Proprietary Land Office of Pennsylvania from 1762–66.<sup>19</sup> On September 30, 1743, he was married in Christ Church, Philadelphia, to Ann Francis of Fausley, daughter of Tench Francis and Elizabeth Turbutt.<sup>20</sup>

Ann's father had moved to Philadelphia from Maryland to become Attorney-General of Pennsylvania, and "the leading lawyer of his time."<sup>21</sup> It is through her mother's family connection that Lloyd's wife was related to such well-known Philadelphia names as Shippen, Mifflin, Willing, Allen, Harrison, Cox, Burr, Livingston, Lawrence, McIlvaine, and Chew. Through her maternal grandmother, Elizabeth Turbutt, she was related to the Goldsboroughs, Wrights, and Sewalls of Talbot County.<sup>22</sup>

At the commencement of the Revolutionary War, James's views were liberal, like those of most public men. But as the struggle proceeded, he came to share the loyalist views of many of his colleagues in office.<sup>23</sup> His disapproval of the separation from the mother country having caused him to be looked upon as a Tory, James returned to Chestertown in 1777, where he lived until his death, August 24, 1793. His disapproval was shared by two of his sons, Richard and Philomon. The former, who had been educated in England, had left Maryland with Governor Eden at the outbreak of the hostilities and spent his remaining years sailing between England and India. Philomon entered the British navy at the early age of 15. After the war, he returned to Maryland, taking up life again at Golden Square, his plantation in Queen Anne's County.<sup>24</sup>

Three other sons, Tench, James, and William chose to join the American cause. After the war, both James and William moved to Philadelphia, where the former was to become Chief Justice of Pennsylvania; the latter, an outstanding lawyer.<sup>25</sup> Thomas Ringgold, the youngest, was too young to be affected by the war.

Henrietta Maria had three sisters: Anna Maria, Elizabeth, and Mary. Anna Maria, the eldest, was the third wife of William Hemsley of Cloverfields. Elizabeth, the second daughter, was the wife of Major James Lloyd of Kent County; and Mary, the youngest, died single in 1788 or 1789.<sup>26</sup>

### Lloyd Tilghman

While there is a rich source of historical information about Lloyd's distinguished parents, his brother, his two sisters, as well as his cousins in Talbot County, Queen Anne's County, and Philadelphia, there is very little available information on Lloyd. Whatever can be found comes from various primary sources and an occasional reference to him in Oswald Tilghman's research on Talbot County.

What we learn from these sources can be summarized very briefly. He was born at Rich Neck on July 17, 1749. He took the Test Oath in 1778. In 1783, he was the putative owner of Sherwood's Neck. Two years later, he married Henrietta Maria Tilghman, who bore him seven children, only three of whom survived. Also in 1785, he served as a vestryman of St. Michael's Parish, and two years later, he became a Trustee of the Alms and Work House of Talbot county. Sometime before his mother's death in 1794, he built Sherwood Manor, where he lived while he supervised his vast estates. He died intestate in 1811.

As skimpy as these facts are, they at least are reliable enough to provide material to putting together a biography of Lloyd that will enable us to place him within the distinguished circle of his immediate family and the cultural history of Talbot County.

### Education

For information about the early years of Lloyd, we have to rely upon conjecture, since there is nothing available at this time which would give any concrete facts about his education, his place in the political and social life of Talbot County, and his part in the Revolutionary War. What we can say about his education is that it was quite likely similar to that received by his cousins.

We may surmise that he was educated privately and that later he received his higher education in Philadelphia. His early tutoring may have been received at the hands of the Reverend John Gordon, pastor of St. Michael's, who seems to have been the tutor of the sons of wealthy planters in Talbot County. Both Bast and Oswald Tilghman note that Tench Tilghman was tutored by the Reverend Gordon.<sup>27</sup> Perry Benson and Samuel Chamberlaine, Jr., prominent Talbot County personages, also received their early training from this clergyman.

Lloyd's higher education may have been pursued at the Academy in Philadelphia, where many Tilghmans enrolled their sons. In fact, Tench Francis, the grandfather of Henrietta Maria, Lloyd's future wife, was one of the original people to set on foot a subscription to establish an Academy, which was opened in 1750 for the instruction in Latin, English, and mathematics.<sup>28</sup> Tench Tilghman entered the college of Philadelphia in May 1758, graduating at the age of fourteen in 1761.<sup>29</sup> Another of Lloyd's cousins, William, attended the academy and later the college which became known as the University of Pennsylvania,<sup>30</sup> graduating in 1772. Also, Edward, Lloyd's contemporary, was placed at an early age in the Academy, "where he obtained as good an education as this country could afford."<sup>31</sup> In keeping with the Philadelphia tradition, Lloyd was himself later to send his only son, James, to that city for his education.

The modest library that Lloyd had at Sherwood Manor suggests that he was a man of simple culture. Listed in his inventory are book in mathematics, English literature, religion, history, and geography.<sup>32</sup> In English literature, he

had the current novels of Fielding and Sterne, two volumes of Johnson's *Dictionary*, and eight of Shakespeare's plays. History was represented by Goldsmith's *Roman History* and his four volumes of the *History of England*, as well as eight volumes of Hume's *History of England*. Among the books in mathematics were such titles as Euclid's *Elements* and Martin's *Logarithms*. A family Bible and Blair's *Sermons* represented his limited interest in the field of religion. Five works of Molière's indicate some familiarity with French.<sup>33</sup> Conspicuously absent from the small library were any books on law, a fact which may indicate that he did not pursue this subject in Philadelphia.

After his formal education in Philadelphia, Lloyd may have remained in that city. From a letter written on June 5, 1771, we know that Lloyd was absent from Rich Neck. In that year, his father wrote to Margaret, his daughter, who was then residing in London: "I wrote Charles by way of Philadelphia relative to a report about Lloyd, but I have since a letter from him assuring me that the report was groundless."<sup>34</sup> At this time, Lloyd was twenty-two years old — old enough to have completed his education and to have entered into some kind of business.

### Revolutionary War

By the outbreak of the war, Lloyd was probably back at Rich Neck acting as his father's overseer of the family estate. The 1776 census of Talbot County indicates that there were at Rich Neck two males above fifty, and two white males from sixteen to fifty.<sup>35</sup> Since Lloyd was twenty-seven at the time and still unmarried, it seems safe to assume that he was included in the latter category of household members.

What role Lloyd played in the war cannot be determined at this time, since it is difficult to find any record of his active participation as an officer or a soldier. The Maryland Convention had ordered every able-bodied freeman (with certain specific exceptions) to enroll himself in some company of militia under a penalty if he should refuse to do so.<sup>36</sup> Lloyd's name does not appear in the Muster Rolls and other records of Maryland troops in the Revolution.<sup>37</sup> Men of wealth were usually appointed officers, but here also there is no evidence that he received such an appointment, as his name does not appear in the record of the Society of Cincinnati.<sup>38</sup> On the other hand, his brother, Richard, was elected a member of the Council of Safety at the Convention of January 16, 1776.<sup>39</sup> And on May 16, 1777, Richard was appointed a member of a special committee constituting a court to try treasons committed on the Eastern Shore.<sup>40</sup>

Likewise, some of his neighbors were active in the war. When the Committee of Observation formed two battalions from the Fourth in Talbot County, it appointed such well-known Bayside men as James Benson, John Rolle, William Hambleton, William Haddaway, and Nicholas Martin to the position of captain.<sup>41</sup> But here also Lloyd's name is missing.

While seemingly absent from the Revolutionary War records, Lloyd did sign in 1778 the Test Oath. The Maryland Convention made a universal Test

Oath mandatory, ordering that before March 1, 1778, every male inhabitant over eighteen had to subscribe to an oath of fidelity to the State or pay a fine equal to treble of his normal tax, besides forfeiting all civil rights and liable to being disbarred from any learned society, profession, or trade. In a small paper book, Lloyd affixed his signature to the oath in May 1778.<sup>42</sup>

### Sherwood's Neck and Lloyd's Debts

Sometime during the five-year period after signing the Test Oath, Lloyd was listed in the 1783 Tax as the owner of Sherwood's Neck, a 258 acre plantation adjacent to Rich Neck.<sup>43</sup> Since the Federal 1790 Census refers to this tract as Lloyd Tilghman's Quarters,<sup>44</sup> it is very likely that Lloyd was living with his parents at Rich Neck. And since his father was now in retirement, it was Lloyd's responsibility to oversee the numerous plantations scattered throughout Tilghman's Island. If this is so, it could explain why he did not participate in the war.

During this same five-year period, Lloyd sustained some heavy debts. It was customary for people of wealth to accumulate debts, but we cannot ascertain at this time the nature of the financial obligations which Lloyd had undertaken. What we can detect is that these debts caused his brother, Richard, much distress. On November 29, 1782, Richard confided to Colonel Edward Tilghman that he had just paid 440 pounds to Mr. Ringgold's estate as payment for a debt which Lloyd had incurred. The unusual aspect of the case was that Richard made the payments with Matthew Tilghman's money and by his orders. Confided Richard to Colonel Tilghman,

In this affair I have done as much for Lloyd as he'd have done for me, little thinking how much it might injury me, but happy Fortune took me to Dover and has given me an opportunity of wiping off the stain — which I hope I have done to your satisfaction — as the Tension and Weight of this affair belongeth not to my shoulder. I mean this information to go no further.<sup>45</sup>

If Matthew undertook the settlement of the debt, and if at the same time he placed Sherwood's Neck under Lloyd's supervision, he would also have given Lloyd at this time the eight slaves, five horses, and ten black cattle, which were at Sherwood's Neck. Modest as these possessions were, they were at least enough for him to begin to make preparations for his coming marriage to Henrietta Maria Tilghman.

### Marriage

On January 22, 1785, Lloyd married his first cousin, Henrietta Maria Tilghman, the daughter of James and Ann Francis Tilghman of Philadelphia and Chestertown.<sup>46</sup> At the time of the wedding, Lloyd was twenty-six; Henrietta Maria, twenty-two. Prior to the wedding, Henrietta Maria was living in Chestertown, where her father had moved from Philadelphia because of his pro-British loyalties.

The newly-married couple took up residence at Rich Neck, the home of Matthew. A series of letters written towards the end of the eighteenth century reveal that Henrietta Maria was plagued by weak health all her life.<sup>47</sup> This condition must have been known to Lloyd, for three months after her marriage, Henrietta Maria wrote half in jest to her cousin, Molly,

Mr. Tilghman desires me to give his love to you, and to tell you that as he does not expect I shall live very long, he expects you will hold yourself in readiness to perform your promise to being mistress of the Bayside, but I say I do not put much dependance on that for it has been proved that our family tho' they may have a great deal of sickness are very tough. . . .<sup>48</sup>

Nursing Henrietta Maria through her difficult pregnancies was her cousin Mary, popularly known as Molly, who was described by one of her relatives as a "lady of very cultured mind."<sup>49</sup> In her capacity as Henrietta Maria's nurse, Molly was in a good position to inform her cousin, Polly Pearce, of the birth of several of the children. Writing within the intimacy of the family, Molly could be candid and unflattering. On August 5, 1785, the first year of Henrietta's marriage, Molly wrote exasperatingly to her cousin,

O this Henny of ours is the saddest creature you can conceive. If she drags her bloated self to the Wind Mill,<sup>50</sup> she thinks so prodigious an exertion entitles her to groan and complain the whole evening, till nine o'clock, when she departs, and is seen no more till the next morning. Now is it not a melancholy thing to see a young person give themselves to such horrid ways, because they are married?<sup>51</sup>

Similar reports of Henrietta Maria's other pregnancies indicate that her weak health must have been a major preoccupation of Lloyd.

Whatever may have been the cause of Henrietta Maria's increasing poor health, she succumbed to a sickness in 1796 which ultimately caused her death on May 2. Of the seven children she bore, only four were living at the time of her death: Ann, Henrietta Maria, James, and an infant boy.<sup>52</sup> The children who had died before her death were: Mary, Elizabeth, and either Lloyd or Matthew.<sup>53</sup> Lloyd was to suffer the death of still another child, for by 1810 only Ann, Henrietta Maria, and James were living.<sup>54</sup>

If there was so much sadness in the Sherwood household over the death of his wife and four children, Lloyd did have the consolation of seeing his second oldest daughter, Henrietta Maria, marry a relative, Alexander Hemsley, on May 11, 1806.<sup>55</sup> Alexander was the son of William Hemsley of Cloverfields by his second wife, Sarah Williamson. The couple took up residence at Sherwood. From this marriage came three children: Henrietta Maria,<sup>56</sup> Lloyd, and Alexander. The last-named child, however, died in infancy.

### Lloyd the Farmer

Upon the death of his father in 1790 and his mother in 1794, Lloyd became an independently wealthy man, the heir of his father's plantation farms. And it was from his home at Sherwood Manor that he supervised and directed the ac-



tivities of these farms. The equipment and the numerous animals required to till the land reflect Lloyd's total involvement as a farmer. At each of his plantation farms were oxen, steer, bulls, cows, sheep, horses, and fattening hogs. There were also dwelling houses for overseers, slave quarters, barns, and other outhouses. To do the work on the farms were 153 slaves.<sup>57</sup> The amount of wheat and corn stored at the various farms is proof of the shift that was taking place on the Eastern Shore from tobacco to grain.<sup>58</sup>

The contents of his home reveal a simple and pragmatic taste for the essentials. The furniture was of a practical nature. For instance, the most common type of chair in the manor house was the Windsor, all of which were moderately priced. Absent are the Chippendale, the Sheraton, and other furniture that was produced in Baltimore and Philadelphia for wealthy landowners. However, his plate and linen, in contrast, were expensive. With these exceptions, everything in the house tended towards the unpretentious. It was a home furnished by a man devoted to farming.

### Lloyd's Portrait

Sometime towards the end of the century, Lloyd sat for his portrait, which was placed in a gilt frame and valued at \$65.00.<sup>59</sup> This could have been the work of Charles Willson Peale, who was well-known to the Tilghman family. Lloyd's brother-in-law, Charles Carroll the Barrister, along with several Maryland gentlemen of wealth, had donated funds to enable Peale, a young saddler in Annapolis, to visit England and receive training from Benjamin West.<sup>60</sup>

The likelihood that Peale did the portrait of Lloyd is based on a visit which Peale made to the Eastern Shore in 1790 after the death of his wife. At the time he was fifty years old, graying, slightly bald, and deaf. He went from plantation to plantation riding in "a one-horse carriage, with room enough for sketches, paints, and canvas . . . and a return load of museum exhibits."<sup>61</sup> During this trip, he visited James, Henrietta Maria's father, and William, her brother. At Wye, he painted the portrait of John Beale Bordley. Then he went to Gross' Coate overlooking the Wye River, where he painted three canvases: Major Richard Tilghman, his wife and two children, and his maiden sister, Mary.<sup>62</sup> It was while he was at Major Tilghman's that he fell in love with Mary. However, Richard strongly opposed the marriage, leaving Peale distressed and disappointed over his failure to bring the marriage about.<sup>63</sup>

It is quite probable that Peale, who also did the portraits of the Goldsboroughs and the Kerrs during this trip, would also have stopped at Sherwood to do the portrait of Lloyd.<sup>64</sup>

### Vestryman and Trustee

Though Lloyd had not entered the law profession or engaged in the political life of the county of the newly-formed state of Maryland, he was active as a vestryman in St. Michael's Parish and as a Trustee of the Alms and Work House of Talbot County. On Easter Monday, 1785, he was chosen as a vestry-

man, joining his father and Colonel J. Bannon, Thomas Sherwood, and John Rolle.<sup>65</sup> Later, along with William Perry and Hugh Sherwood, he was appointed to a survey study of some glebe lands belonging to the Vestry.<sup>66</sup> He served as a vestryman until at least 1801.

In 1789, he was a Trustee of the Alms and Work House of Talbot County, along with Thomas Sherwood, William Goldsborough, Samuel Chamberlaine, and Howes Goldsborough. To the Trustees was transferred the deed of the Charity Working School of Parson Bacon,<sup>67</sup> located in Oxford Neck, near Hole-in-the-Wall.<sup>68</sup> It was Matthew Tilghman, along with John Gordon, Trustees of this Charity School, who took the steps to transfer the deed of the school to the Trustees of the Alms and Work House on October 18, 1787.<sup>69</sup>

### Death

Lloyd died at the age of sixty-two on October 1, 1811, the year following the 1810 national census. That census had listed seven inhabitants at Sherwood: three men and four women.<sup>70</sup> The men were: Lloyd, Alexander Hemsley, and James, who was seventeen at the time. The women were: Ann, Henrietta Maria, and her daughter by the same name. The fourth woman, forty-five or older, may have been a servant.

The *Eastern Star Republican* carried the following notice: "October 8. Died. On Tuesday morning last, Mr. Lloyd Tilghman of this county."<sup>71</sup> A more exact date of the death was given several years later when Alexander Hemsley, the son-in-law, in an 1814 suit stated "that the said Lloyd Tilghman departed from this life on or about the first day of October in the year 1811."<sup>72</sup>

A few details of Lloyd's burial come from the same Alexander Hemsley.<sup>73</sup> In his final administration account of the estate, Alexander lists, among other expenses, the following items for Lloyd's funeral: Samuel Groome, \$229.88 for the funeral expenses; James Neale, \$20.00 for the coffin; James Wills, \$6.00 for bricking the grave; and the Rev. J. Jackson, \$25.00 for his attendance at the funeral.<sup>74</sup>

Lloyd had probably made provisions for a private burial place on his plantation for his deceased wife and children, and also for himself. This custom of burial of the dead on the home plantation continued even after the enactment of laws for the building of churches and the walling in or churchyards.<sup>75</sup> The burial grounds at Rich Neck, Plaindealing, Plimhimmon, Grosses, and Wye, to mention only a few, point to this custom.

If there was a burial spot on Sherwood in the 1800s, it was demolished or ploughed over, leaving no trace of the remains of Lloyd and his family.<sup>76</sup>

### Children

Lloyd died intestate, leaving three children and two grandchildren. At the time of his death, Ann was twenty-six; Henrietta Maria, twenty-four; and James, eighteen. Ann became the second wife of John Tilghman of Centerville, a clerk of Queen Anne's County, with residence at Foxley Hall.<sup>77</sup> As mentioned

previously, Henrietta Maria, the second oldest girl, married Alexander Hemsley of Cloverfields. James was to marry Ann Caroline Shoemaker of Philadelphia and settle at Rich Neck, where, in 1816, was born Lloyd, who later was to distinguish himself in the Civil War on the Confederate side.<sup>78</sup>

### Wealth

The long litigation which followed upon Lloyd's death provides valuable documentation about the extent of Lloyd's wealth. The inventory authorized by the Orphan's Court on November 4, 1811, and completed January 22, 1812, was valued at \$42,134.99 $\frac{1}{4}$ .<sup>79</sup> His separate debts amounted to \$19,343.13.<sup>80</sup> Finally, the Land Commission valued his real estate at \$99,350.25. The annual income from his farms was \$2,923.33.<sup>81</sup>

There are no extant records to show that Lloyd had purchased properties other than those he inherited from his father, with the exception of Cuddleton's Addition, a tract which he had acquired in 1789.<sup>82</sup> He purchased Chance, but had failed to record the deed of conveyance with the Land Record Office.<sup>83</sup>

### Litigation

It was to take fourteen years before Lloyd's estate was settled. Throughout these years, Alexander Hemsley administered the estate.<sup>84</sup> During this period of litigation, Henrietta Maria, Lloyd's second oldest daughter and Alexander's wife, died on January 7, 1817.<sup>85</sup>

Although the inventory and the accounts were executed with some speed, it was not until 1819 that the estate was finally divided equally among the three heirs: Alexander (for his wife), Ann, and James. The delay may have been due to the War of 1812, which saw much British activity in Talbot County.<sup>86</sup>

It was only four years later, on March 27, 1823, that Alexander presented the final account of his guardianship. From the balance of the estate, \$57,758.02, James, Ann, and Alexander each received \$19,252.67.<sup>87</sup> And so came to an end the thirteen-year litigation over Lloyd's estate.

### Conclusion

From this biographical data unearthed from primary sources, we can begin to make a few generalizations about this obscure son of a famous father.

Whatever education he received in Philadelphia, it did not prepare him for the law or for public office. While his father, his brother, and his numerous cousins and relatives became prominent in both Maryland and Pennsylvania law and politics, Lloyd's interest was centered elsewhere. Until further evidence is forthcoming, we can only surmise that during his early years, he managed the vast estates of his father, who was busily engaged in Annapolis and later in Philadelphia in the struggle for independence. This early introduction to farming prepared him for a life-time activity in this profession.

It was as a gentleman farmer that Lloyd seemed to be successful. With the experience he received as his father's manager, he successfully supervised the

activities of his own plantation, as well as those of his farms at Rich Neck, Choptank Island, Little Neck Farm, Hemmersly, Chance, Mable, The Three Necks, Cooper's Lot, Newport Glasgow, Deep Water Point, Elliot's Folly, Lostock, and Bradford.<sup>88</sup> The total number of acres of these plantations was 4,359.

If success as a gentlemen farmer can be measured in monetary terms, then Lloyd was eminently successful. The value of his estate and of his lands certainly made him one of the wealthier men in Talbot County.

While successful as a gentleman farmer, Lloyd seems to have been careful about spending money. From a comparison between the lands deeded him by his father with those he left intestate, there is no evidenced that he had purchased any further property, with the exception of Chance. He does not appear to have left any outstanding debts. Probably he learned from his previous experience about which his brother complained. His modest shares in the Bank of Maryland and the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal do not reflect any desire to speculate.<sup>89</sup> It was perhaps his careful use of money that led the Vestry to entrust Lloyd with the responsibility of keeping the accounts of St. Michael's Church.

If he was cautious about spending money, he was not as careful about keeping his own personal records. In his petition to William Kilty, Chancellor of the State of Maryland, Alexander Hemsley stated that the deed of conveyance from John Hambleton had not been recorded by Lloyd "owing to the forgetfulness and inattention of the said Lloyd Tilghman." In a letter from John Hambleton to John Tilghman, Centerville, Hambleton writes that he will provide a copy of the deed for Chance. "I gave Mr. Lloyd Tilghman a Deed which he told me he lost."<sup>90</sup> This dilatory habit of Lloyd's was also hinted at when his brother Richard complained to Colonel Edward Tilghman about Lloyd's failure to put his debt on his books. Finally, his failure to draw up a will is in keeping with Lloyd's procrastination.

If there is any mitigating circumstance that might explain Lloyd's forgetfulness, it is the series of deaths he suffered within a very short time. Within a period of four years, he lost his mother and father. Two years after his mother's death, he lost his own wife, Henrietta Maria. And of his seven children, only three survived. The effect that these losses had upon Lloyd must have left an indelible mark upon his character.

Even though Lloyd's name is not among those illustrious Tilghmans who made a great contribution to the legal and political life of the colony and later of the state of Maryland, there does survive one living memorial of this quiet and obscure son of Matthew Tilghman. This memorial is his modest federal plantation house on the Miles River, still standing in good condition. It is to this plantation house that we now turn our attention.

## PART TWO: SHERWOOD MANOR

Sherwood Manor is located on a small point of land on Hemmersly's Creek, overlooking the creek on three sides and the Miles River in the distance.



SHERWOOD MANOR  
with Kitchen and Smoke House.

According to 1798 assessment and 1811 Orphan's Court valuation.

It is on the east side of Maryland Route 451, four miles north of St. Michael's, and about a mile from the village of Claiborne.

Sherwood Manor was built on a 268 acre tract called Sherwood's Neck, which was part of a land patent which Philip Sherwood had received on October 10, 1713, from Lord Baltimore.<sup>91</sup> The 268 acre tract, surveyed on October 8, 1713 by William Turbutt, lay between Harrison's Creek and St. Michael's River (now the Miles River), and began on the north side and near "the head of a cove of St. Michael's Creek about thirteen perches to the south of said Sherwood dwellings." The annual rent was £00.8.3.<sup>92</sup>

At the time of the survey, there were standing on the property an old frame dwelling house, an old kitchen, a small granary, an old smoke house, a small old outhouse, and a cornhouse on the water.<sup>93</sup>

In 1771, Matthew Tilghman purchased 134 acres of Sherwood's Neck at a cost of 400 pounds current Maryland money.<sup>94</sup> Several years later, Matthew was to engage in what was apparently a spirited lawsuit with Risdon Bozman over certain boundary lines. The dispute led to a resurvey. In a petition to the Justices of the Provincial Court, the sheriff stated that Sherwood's Neck was ordered to be surveyed according to its "antient meets and Bounds."<sup>95</sup> The new survey shows that the original Sherwood's Neck did indeed contain 268 acres, a figure which corresponds to that in the 1713 land patent.

Accompanying the petition is the plat of Sherwood and the five parts of Hemmersly. Explanatory notes next to the plat assisted the justices and the disputants to tread their way through the maze of lines and boundaries.

Although the manuscript of the plat of Sherwood is undated, it was probably written in 1774. In that year, Matthew wrote to James Hollyday, giving him a short account of his controversy with Bozman over the boundaries between Sherwood's Neck and Hemmersly. Wrote Matthew to his friend: "I am much plagued by old Bozman. He has had two appointments for the Execution and the Writ of Possessions and Lands and broke 'em both and now I go to Philadelphia."<sup>96</sup>

The 1783 Tax List describes Sherwood's Neck as Lloyd Tilghman's Quarters and notes, however, that no one was living on the property.<sup>97</sup> It was only upon his father's death in 1790 that Lloyd became the owner of this estate.

If construction on the new house began after 1790, it was probably in 1794 that it was completed, for at that time Lloyd's mother had died and he had vacated Rich Neck to move his family into their new home. The new brick manor house and its dependencies are described in the 1798 Federal Assessment as follows:

Dwelling House Brick 2 Stories 50 by 22  
 7 Windows 60 by 22. 7D 50 by 32. 1D 40 by 28  
 1D 30 by 28. 4D 20 by 16. 800 Doll<sup>s</sup>.  
 Brick Cov. Way 12 by 12. Framed Kitchen 34 by 20  
 [?] Windows 40 by 22. 180 Doll<sup>s</sup>. Brick Meat  
 House 16 by 14. 40 Doll<sup>s</sup>. Framed Carriage  
 D 42 by 21. 120 Doll<sup>s</sup>.  
 Log Tool House 16 by [?]. 10 Doll<sup>s</sup>.<sup>98</sup>

An even more detailed description of the manor house and its attachments appears in the Orphan's Court evaluation undertaken in 1811, the year of Lloyd's death. The description is as follows:

One brick dwelling house 50 feet by 23, two story, covered with cypress shingles with 2 rooms and 2 passages and 3 rooms and a passage above, seven 24 light windows below, and in the upper story there are seven 20 light windows, one 12 light d<sup>o</sup> and one 9 light d<sup>o</sup>, in the garret are 4 light windows, the glass all whole with an exception of a few lights crack'd, there is a cellar under the whole of this house, and porches to the doors, all in good repair, there is a brick covered way, with a brick floor 12 feet square (with a porch) leading to the kitchen, which is fram'd 34 feet by 20, weatherboarded with plank and covered with cypress shingles, divided into 2 apartments and a storeroom, there are three 12 light windows and one 6 light d<sup>o</sup> below, 2 panes of glass gone, three 12 light windows above, 10 panes of glass and part of sash gone, the weatherboarding out of repair, one brick Smoke House 16 feet by 14 covered with cypress shingles in tolerable good repair, 1 log'd poultry house covered with plank in but midling repair, 1 Chicken House, covered with plank in good repair, 1 old Log'd d<sup>o</sup> in bad rep, 1 Stable and Carriage House 42 feet by 21 weatherboarded with plank and covered with cypress shingles, with a shed on one side 7 feet by 12 on one wing and 80 feet by 12 on the other with plank upright, & covered with plank in good repair . . . .<sup>99</sup>

This evaluation also describes a large enclosed garden "with 210 pannels of post and plank fence, 94 pannels post in tolerable good repair d<sup>o</sup> and 78 pannels worn fence in which is a necessary in tolerable good repair."

Listed in this evaluation were also one farm house, one framed negro quarters, and one framed barn. The entire farm was laid out in three shifts and six lots, containing about 170 acres of arable land, enclosed with post and plank fences and fourteen gates.

The total evaluation of the dwelling house and the five outhouses in the 1798 Assessment was \$1,240. And the \$800 valuation of the house was higher

than that placed on Lloyd's father's plantation, Rich Neck Manor, which was \$400.

The Land Commissioner's Report of 1818 designates the name of the plantation house as "Sherwood," and situates it "upon a neck of land between St. Michael's River and a creek called Miles or Michael's Creek and bounded by the water thereon."<sup>100</sup>

### Date of Sherwood

The date of Lloyd's manor house can be ascertained at the present time from internal evidence.

According to the 1785-89 letters between Henrietta Maria and her cousin Mary, Lloyd and Henrietta Maria, on the occasion of their wedding in 1785, took up residence at the Bayside, the name traditionally associated with Matthew's Rich Neck plantation house. Some of Mary's letters which recorded the birth of several of Lloyd's children were written from the Bayside. In her August 5, 1785 letter, which records the pregnancy of Henrietta's first child, Mary refers to a windmill. It was this windmill that was listed in the November 4, 1811 Orphan's Court evaluation as still standing in good condition on the Rich Neck farm.<sup>101</sup>

Further evidence that Lloyd had not taken up residence at Sherwood by 1790 comes from the 1790 Census, which refers to Sherwood as Lloyd Tilghman's Quarters, and which records that no one was living on the premises.<sup>102</sup>

The first recorded date of the house is the 1798 Tax Assessment. However, by this time, Lloyd had been living at Sherwood for a number of years, since the Assessment states that Rich Neck plantation house was "in bad repair." It is quite likely, then, that Lloyd moved his family into his new house at Sherwood shortly after his father's death in 1790. Work on the house and its numerous additions would have been in progress since 1785, the year of Lloyd's marriage.

### Alexander Hemsley, Second Owner

In 1811, when Lloyd died intestate, he left as his only heirs, Ann, Henrietta Maria Hemsley, and James. It was not until 1818, however, that steps were taken to divide the estate among these three children. On May 3 of that year, the heirs petitioned the Justices of Talbot County to evaluate and divide the lands of their father and to appoint a guardian to Henrietta Maria's children, since she had died on January 7, 1817. The Chief Judge, Richard T. Earle, appointed a commission for this purpose.<sup>103</sup>

The final report of the commission was made on November 29, 1819. This extensive report contains a survey of all Lloyd's properties, as well as an evaluation of each plantation. The Sherwood property was valued at \$8,796.

To Alexander was assigned, for his children, the dwelling plantation. But, according to the terms of the report, the lands allotted to him were, upon his death, to descend to his children, Henrietta Maria and Lloyd.



### Subsequent Owners

On February 2, 1836, Lloyd Tilghman Hemsley, residing at that time in Philadelphia, sold his half part of the three tracts, "Sherwood," "Rich Neck Addition," and "Hemmersly" to John Tilghman of Queen Anne's County.<sup>104</sup> On May 21, 1851, John sold the tracts to John Covey.<sup>105</sup>

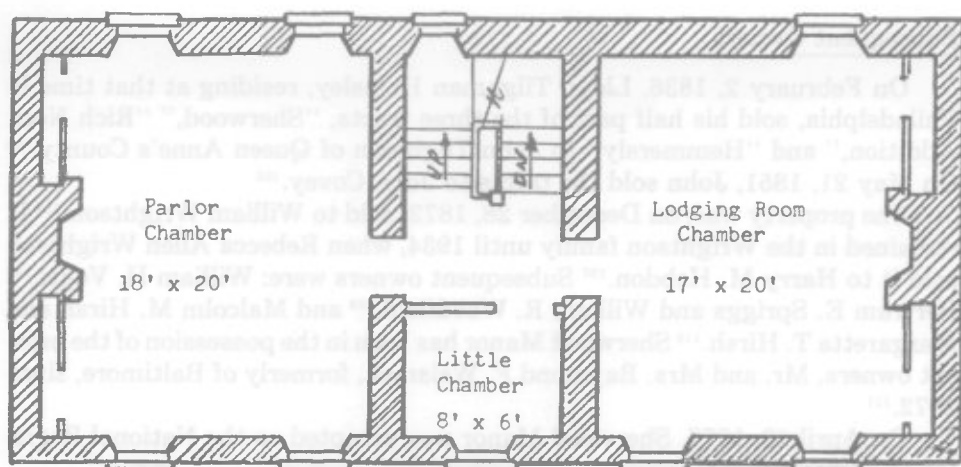
The property was, on December 28, 1872, sold to William Wrightson.<sup>106</sup> It remained in the Wrightson family until 1934, when Rebecca Allen Wrightson sold it to Harry M. Hebdon.<sup>107</sup> Subsequent owners were: William H. Vogel,<sup>108</sup> Bertram E. Spriggs and William R. Woodfield,<sup>109</sup> and Malcolm M. Hirsh and Margaretta T. Hirsh.<sup>110</sup> Sherwood Manor has been in the possession of the present owners, Mr. and Mrs. Raymond F. Weisman, formerly of Baltimore, since 1972.<sup>111</sup>

On April 20, 1977, Sherwood Manor was accepted on the National Register of Historic Places.

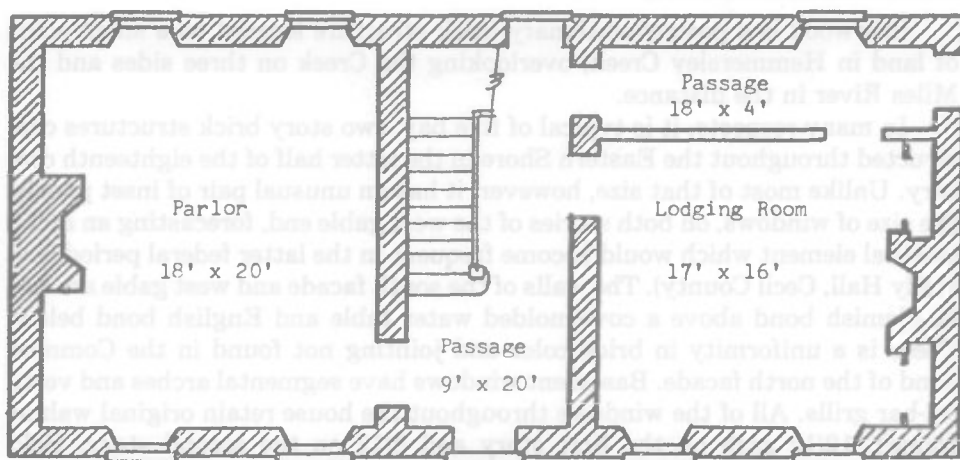
### Architectural Description<sup>112</sup>

Sherwood is a postrevolutionary brick structure located on a small point of land in Hemmersley Creek, overlooking the Creek on three sides and the Miles River in the distance.

In many respects, it is typical of five bay, two story brick structures constructed throughout the Eastern Shore in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Unlike most of that size, however, it has an unusual pair of inset panels, the size of windows, on both stories of the west gable end, forecasting an architectural element which would become frequent in the latter federal period (e.g. Holly Hall, Cecil County). The walls of the south facade and west gable are laid in Flemish bond above a cove-molded water table and English bond below. There is a uniformity in brick color and jointing not found in the Common bond of the north facade. Basement windows have segmental arches and vertical-bar grills. All of the windows throughout the house retain original walnut frames, 12/12 sash on the first story and 8/12 on the second story. Bold wrought iron shutter dogs are intact on the first story and cast iron above, indicating the existence of original shutters on the first story only. Walnut was also used for the construction of the original shutters. Unlike the cellar windows, those above the water table have a 12 inch deep jack arch. Between the first and second stories is a four-brick-wide belt course. The original box cornice is still in place with both upper and lower moldings. Two chimneys rise within the gables above a moderately-pitched "A" roof. On each gable, two four-pane casements light the attic rooms. The north facade of the building has asymmetrical fenestration. West of the center door are two windows on each story, that closest the center on the second story being a later intrusion, and on the east side of the door is a single window on each story. The original arrangement is identical to Rich Hill, Kent County, with the exception that there is a small window at both landings, Rich Hill having only one at the first landing.



2nd FLOOR



1st FLOOR

SHERWOOD MANOR, TALBOT COUNTY  
According to the 1812 Inventory

Both the front and back doors have crosstessed trim on the exterior surface of the brick, with raised paneled jambs and six panel doors. This treatment is like Content, Queen Anne's County, built about the same period. Four of the upper panels of the south door were replaced with glass when it was considered that the transom gave too little light to the hall.

On the east and west gables are outlines where subsequent additions have been removed, but on the east gable is the evidence of a former passage to the

kitchen. It appears to have been approximately twelve feet wide and was probably at ground level, although that is difficult to determine since there is a large cellar hold in that location. From this "brick covered way" access was had on the north to the first floor, and near it to the south, to the cellar. According to the 1798 Federal Direct Tax, this structure was 12x12 feet long and was connected to a framed kitchen 34x20 feet, none of which is now standing.<sup>113</sup>

Farther to the east is a stuccoed brick meat house with steeply pitched "A" roof and a door opening on the south gable. Inside, there are three slits on each wall which allowed the smoke to escape. There are three tie beams connecting the rafters from which to hang the meat. The roof has continuous sheathing to which the shingles were fastened.

The cellar is divided into three rooms, the two large end rooms having girders supporting the joists and the center room having joists running between the two interior walls. There are indications of previous partitions for storage areas.

Unlike most of the houses of this form, Sherwood has a corridor running from the central hall, north of the dining room, to the east gable and former kitchen. Otherwise, it has a standard plan with living room on the west and dining room on the east. The dining room retains all original woodwork including original paneled fireplace wall with cabinet on the north and closet on the south. There is a raised panel above the doors and crossetted trim surrounding the overmantel panel. Each window, throughout the first story, has paneled jambs and two raised panels in the recess beneath the sill. Only the fireplace wall possesses a four-piece cornice. All of the trim of the windows and doors is typical three-piece composition, as is the chair rail. A door opens from the dining room to the corridor and to the stair hall. Flooring in the dining room and stair hall is narrow yellow pine, of recent date, laid over the original.

Across the hall the living room retains its original flooring; however, around 1830, when people were looking for a lighter composition in their parlors, the paneling was removed and replaced with a plain mantel with fluted colonettes. The same thing appears to have been accomplished at the Rounds, Cecil County. Some of the chair rail has been removed, but otherwise, the trim has been unaltered. In the twentieth century a cornice was installed with stock crow molding and unmolded fascia.

Around the hall and up the stair is a chair rail like half the profile of the hand railing. Beneath the open-string stair is a triangular raised panel and four-panel closet door. The stair, itself, has turned walnut newels, boldly molded hand rail, and turned painted yellow pine balusters. It ascends to the attic in three runs per floor.

At the head of the stair on the second floor is a small room, now used as the bath. A portion of this room has been taken for closets, one in the hall and one in the living room chamber. Doors and trim of the two closets closely match the original woodwork. The living room chamber has a chimney breast with beaded wood stiles defining plaster panels above and beside the fireplace. Flanking the fireplace are two closets. From evidence around the windows, it was found that the sashes have lead counter weights and that there were

originally paneled shutters which recessed behind the trim. The latter have been removed.

Originally the dining room chamber extended from north to south wall; however, a corridor was subsequently installed above the north wall which led from the stair landing to a former two story wing. The fireplace wall has a treatment similar to the living room chamber.

The attic is also divided into two rooms secured by batten doors hung on HL hinges. Cast butt hinges were used throughout the remainder of the house. Both rooms were originally plastered, although it has been removed from one. One curious feature of these two rooms is that the tie beams are lacking on two rafters adjoining the chimney creating a small peaked area to the ceiling. Common rafters with mortise and tenon joint, and with tie beams nailed thereon are standard construction techniques of the area.

### Conclusion

Such is the well-preserved condition of Lloyd's manor house and its physical ambience that, observing it on a day in any season, but especially in spring or fall, when the present seems to be inextricably a part of the past, a twentieth-century visitor would have no difficulty in visualizing the reenactment here at Sherwood of the visit which Lieutenant Enos Reeves of Philadelphia recorded in his diary after having been the guest at Rich Neck in the fall of 1781.

I walked up the house of Mr. & Mrs. Tilghman (to whom our schooner belongs), he was lately a member of Congress. This gentleman lives in an elegant old fashioned house, very genteely furnished, who was exceeding kind & entertained Mr. Legare (a Carolina gentleman) and myself with the utmost politeness. After a genteel breakfast, he very politely waited upon us to the shore.<sup>114</sup>

### REFERENCES

1. J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1879), p. 255.
2. Joseph B. Seth, "The Rich Neck, A Prominent Manor in the Days of the Colony," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 9 (1914):226-32. (Hereafter the *Maryland Historical Magazine* will be referred to as *MHM*.)
3. Christopher Johnston, "The Tilghman Family," *MHM* 1 (1906):376.
4. Oswald Tilghman, *History of Talbot County*, 2 vols. (Baltimore, Md., 1967). In one instance where he mentions Lloyd, Oswald mistakenly refers to him as Matthew's eldest son, *ibid*, 2:533.
5. They were married April 3, 1741. Talbot County, Marriage Licenses, St. Michael's Parish Record and Index, 1738-1810, p. 25, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Md. (Hereafter the Maryland Historical Society will be referred to as MHS.)
6. Tilghman, *History of Talbot County* 1:423-32. See also, "In Grateful remembrance . . ." *An Exhibition of Portraits Commemorating the Founding of the State and Nation 1770-1788* (Annapolis, 1976), p. 81; Philip A. Crowl, "The Revolution and After: 1774-1789," in *The Old Line State*, Morris L. Radoff, ed. (Annapolis, Md., 1971), pp. 35-48.
7. Wills, Talbot County, Liber JB #4, folios 125-34. Annapolis, Hall of Records. (Hereafter the Hall of Records will be referred to as HR.)
8. Assessment of 1783, Talbot County Tax List, Bay and Mill Hundred, District #1, General, folio 13, HR.

9. The eldest child, Matthew Ward, died in 1753. The following account of his death was carried in the May 27, 1753 issue of *The Maryland Gazette*: "1753, March 29: A few days ago a melancholy accident happened in Talbot County to Master Matthew Ward Tilghman, a very hopeful youth, eldest son of Mr. Matthew Tilghman, one of the Representatives of that County; He was running just behind a Cart, when one of the wheels run [sic] over a piece of Wood, which flung it around with such Force that it broke one of his legs, of which he soon after died." "News from the Maryland Gazette," *MHM* 18 (1923):27.
10. *Archives of Maryland*, 16:243, HR.
11. St. Peter's Parish, Talbot County, Parish Register, 1681-1855, folio 33, MHS.
12. "In Grateful remembrance . . .," p. 81. See also, Homer Bast, "Tench Tilghman: Maryland Patriot," *MHM* 47 (1947):73. Tench's sister, Mary, wrote to her cousin on April 13, 1786: "When my father left Baltimore my brother was better. 'Tho still far from being well, I can only say I am not so uneasy about him as I was." J. Hall Pleasants, "Letters of Molly and Hetty Tilghman, 18th Century Gossip of Two Maryland Girls," *MHM* 21 (1926):42. Tench died five days later. For the settlement of Tench's debts, see, Chancery Record, 1797, folios 145-74, Tilghman Estate, 1060, HR. The Record contains a full inventory of the stock of the House of Tench Tilghman and Company.
13. Bast, "Tench Tilghman," p. 94. On November 30, 1971, Tench's remains were brought to Oxford, where he was reinterred in the family grave. *Baltimore Sun*, November 30, 1971, sec. C, p. 22.
14. Land Record, Liber BS #23, folios 236, 237. Easton, Talbot County Court House (hereafter as TCCH).
15. "News from the Maryland Gazette," *MHM* 18 (1923):171.
16. W. Stull Holt, "Charles Carroll, Barrister: The Man," *MHM* 31 (1936):118.
17. *Mount Clare* (Baltimore: National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in the State of Maryland, 1971), p. 7. An oil painting in the mansion shows Washington, Lafayette, and Charles Carroll mounted on their horses.
18. Johnston, "The Tilghman Family," p. 369. James's father was Colonel Richard Tilghman II of the Hermitage, and his mother was Anna Maria Lloyd of Wye.
19. George A. Hanson, *Old Kent, the Eastern Shore of Maryland* (Baltimore: 1967), p. 255.
20. *The Philadelphia Press*, December 30, 1896, p. 40.
21. Lewis Burd Walker, "The Life of Margaret Shippen, Wife of Benedict Arnold," *The Pennsylvania Magazine* 24 (1900):402.
22. Pleasants, "Letters of Molly and Hetty Tilghman," p. 24.
23. Francis von A. Caheen, "The Society of the Sons of Saint Tammany of Philadelphia," *The Pennsylvania Magazine* 25 (1901):450.
24. Pleasants, "Letters of Molly and Hetty Tilghman," p. 24.
25. Tilghman, *History of Talbot County*, 1:368-75. William married Margaret Elizabeth Allen, daughter of Chief Justice William Allen. Edward F. De Lancey, "Chief Justice William Allen," *The Pennsylvania Magazine* 1 (1877):211. For the influence of the Eastern Shore lawyers in Philadelphia, see, John Dickinson, "Eastern Shore Lawyers at the Early Philadelphia Bar," *Pennsylvania Bar Association Quarterly* (1942):177-89.
26. "A Sketch of the Tilghman Family in Maryland from the Emigration to the Present Day by Richard Tilghman Earle 1839," MS, MHS.
27. Bast, "Tench Tilghman," p. 73; Tilghman, *History of Talbot County*, 1:369.
28. Sherman Day, *Historical Collections of the State of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1843), p. 581.
29. Bast, "Tench Tilghman," p. 73.
30. Tilghman, *History of Talbot County*, 1:430. During the Revolutionary War, the Provost of the Academy, Dr. William Smith, had such strong leanings towards England that he was removed from office. Shortly afterwards, the old Charter was abrogated and the University of Pennsylvania was chartered by the State legislature. Day, *Historical Collections of the State of Pennsylvania*, p. 581. That he was known to Lloyd is implied in the news received at the Bayside that in 1779, Dr. Smith had returned to Philadelphia fully reinstated in his "long withheld rights and privileges." Pleasants, "Letters of Molly and Hetty Tilghman," p. 239.
31. Horace Binney, "The Leaders of the Old Bar of Philadelphia," *The Pennsylvania Magazine* 14 (1890):158. The procedure for admission into the college was given by Robert Goldsborough, who wrote as follows to his Uncle William on September 14, 1757: "I was called before the whole faculty and underwent a publick examination both in Greek and Latin, and acquitted myself to the satisfaction of all the Masters, whereupon I was placed in the Freshman Class." The Hollyday Papers, MS no. 1316, MHS.

32. Inventories and Accounts of Sales, 1812, Liber JP #19, Talbot County, folio 317, HR.
33. The small number of books in Lloyd's library was modest in comparison with that of some of his contemporaries. Edward Lloyd (1744-1796), a relative living at Wye, is reputed to have had a library of more than a thousand titles, largely in French and English literature. Tilghman, *History of Talbot County*, 1:177. Robert Morris, factor for the Cunliffe Company, had a private library that was wide and extensive. Joseph Towne Wheeler, "Reading and Other Recreations of Marylanders, 1700-1776," *MHM* 28 (1943):168-70. "Most of the book users on the Eastern Shore lived close enough so that a journey of a day or two on horse would enable them to visit the Philadelphia book mart." Joseph Towne Wheeler, "Booksellers and Circulating Libraries in Colonial Maryland," *MHM* 36 (1939):136.
34. Tilghman, *History of Talbot County*, 1:430.
35. Talbot County Census of 1776, Box 2, folder 22, HR.
36. Crowl, "The Revolution and After," p. 39.
37. The Muster Rolls and Records of Service of Maryland Troops in the American Revolution, 1775-1783, *Archives of Maryland* 18:293-563, HR.
38. R. Stewart, *A History of the Maryland Line in the Revolutionary War* (Towson, Md., 1969). Lloyd's name does not appear in "Records of Maryland Compiled by Margaret Roberts Hodges," vol. 1, HR.
39. Executive Papers (Box 5, #II, 100), HR.
40. Executive Papers (Box 8, #118, 100), HR.
41. Tilghman, *History of Talbot County*, 2:75.
42. 1778 Blue Book #5, No. 10x, p. 3, HR. This is a small blue unpaginated notebook containing the oath and various signatures.
43. Assessment of 1783, Talbot County, Tax List, Bay and Mill Hundred, District #1, General, 13, HR.
44. Federal Census of 1790, Microfilm Copy #637, Roll 3, Maryland, vol. 2, folio 118. The National Archives of the United States, Washington, D.C.
45. Richard Tilghman, IV, to Colonel Edward Tilghman, November 29, 1782, MS, vertical file, MHS.
46. Johnston, "The Tilghman Family," p. 375.
47. Pleasants, "Letters of Molly and Hetty Tilghman," *MHM* 21 (1926):20-39, 123-49, 219-41. The original letters are now in the manuscript room of the Maryland Historical Society, The Milligan Collection, 590. In 1774, the cost of a letter was nine pence to Philadelphia and seven pence to New Castle, Delaware. The post routes were in fairly good condition, but were due, however, to private enterprise. The Kent Island route was owned by the Tilghmans. Hester Dorsey Richardson, *Side Lights on Maryland History* (Cambridge, Md., 1967), p. 98.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
49. Earle, "A Sketch of the Tilghman Family," p. 31.
50. By 1811, this windmill was still in good condition. Talbot County Administration Accounts 1817-1820, #11276, folio 248, HR. "...with the coming of numerous Dutch from New Amsterdam, the Holland windmill was introduced into such parts of the colony as had no streams of water with sufficient force to turn the wheels." Richardson, *Sidelights of Maryland History*, p. 238.
51. Pleasants, "Letters of Molly and Hetty Tilghman," pp. 130, 131.
52. Federal Census of the United States 1800, Microfilm 32, Roll 12, Maryland, p. 539, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
53. Johnston does not give the dates of the birth and death of these four deceased children. However, in the Pleasants' letters, Molly records the birth of Mary as January 15, 1789, and of Elizabeth as July 7, 1788. Pleasants, "Letters of Molly and Hetty Tilghman," pp. 89, 90.
54. Federal Census of the United States, 1810, Microfilm Copy #252, Roll 14, Talbot County, p. 423, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
55. St. Michael's Parish Record, 1783-1810, Microfilm #563, TCCH.
56. Henrietta Maria later married Dr. Frisbee Tilghman, son of Colonel Frisby and Anna Maria Ringgold Tilghman.
57. Inventory and Account of Sales, 1812, Liber JP #9, folio 317, HR. In 1800, Lloyd had the largest number of slaves in Talbot, 117. In Talbot County, there were 7,070 whites and 6,366 slaves, for a total population of 13,436. Federal Census, 1800. Ten years later, there were 7,249 whites, 2,103 free persons, and 4,878 slaves, for a total population of 14,230. Federal Census, 1810. By this time, Lloyd had increased his number of slaves to 153.

58. William H. Bayliff, "Natural Resources," in *The Old Line State*, p. 270. The amount of manufacturing in Talbot County as reported in the 1810 census was as follows:

Wool	\$16,007.25
Cotton	4,368.50
Flax	16,064.60
	<hr/>
	\$36,440.35
Spirits	4,326.50
	<hr/>
	\$40,766.85

59. Inventories and Accounts of Sales, 1812, folio 317, HR.  
 60. Holt, "Charles Carroll, Barrister: The Man," p. 124.  
 61. Charles Coleman Sellers, *Charles Willson Peale* (Philadelphia, 1947), p. 17.  
 62. These three portraits now hang in the museum of the Maryland Historical Society.  
 63. Wrote Peale in his diary: "My suffering on this occasion was greater than I ever felt in all the transactions of my life." Sellers, *Charles Willson Peale*, p. 244.  
 64. However, Lloyd's portrait does not appear in Charles Coleman Sellers, *Portraits and Miniatures by Charles Willson Peale* (Philadelphia, 1952).  
 65. St. Michael's P.E. Parish, Talbot County, Vestry Proceedings, folio 323, MHS.  
 66. *Ibid.*, p. 331.  
 67. Tilghman, *History of Talbot County*, 2:491.  
 68. *Ibid.*, p. 505.  
 69. Land Records, Liber BS #23, folios 202, 204, 270-72, TCCH.  
 70. 1810 Federal Census, p. 243.  
 71. "Abstract of Vital Statistics Taken from *The Eastern Star Republican*, 1811-1822," 2:9. Library, Easton, Maryland.  
 72. Chancery Papers, Case 2674, Alexander Hemsley and Wife vs. John Hambleton, August 19, 1814, HR. A copy of the deed for Chance is among these papers. See also, Chancery Records, Book 132, 1826, folios 96-100, HR.  
 73. Orphans' Court Proceedings and Minutes, 1811-1814, Microfilm #CR 398, TCCH.  
 74. Accounts, Talbot County, #11277, Liber JP #12, 1822-1824, folio 75, HR. The original is in the Talbot County Court House, Easton, Maryland, Administration Accounts from 1818-1824. Jackson was the pastor of St. Michael's Parish, later becoming the rector of Christ Church in Easton. Tilghman, *History of Talbot County*, 2:296.  
 75. Helen W. Ridgley, *Historical Graves of Maryland and the District of Columbia* (Baltimore, Md., 1908), foreword (unpaginated).  
 76. One case of plowing under of graves involved Lloyd himself. In an April 17, 1822 letter to John Tilghman regarding his sale of Chance to Lloyd, John Hambleton states that Lloyd complied with "every requisite except the reservation of my father's Grave. I am told it is plowed over and in cultivation." Chancery Papers, Case 2674, Alexander Hemsley vs. John Hambleton, Talbot County, 1814, HR.  
 77. Earle, "A Sketch of the Tilghman Family," p. 46; also, Johnston, "The Tilghman Family," p. 376. They had three sons: Matthew Ward, James, and Lloyd.  
 78. James's other children were: Caroline, Henrietta Maria, and Anna (or Nina). Hanson, *Old Kent*, p. 222. James sold Rich Neck to Samuel Harrison on August 16, 1830 to cover a heavy mortgage. Land Record, Liber JL #39, folios 87-91, TCCH. Samuel Harrison bequeathed Rich Neck to his nephew, Samuel Harrison and his wife, Jane D. Harrison. In his will, Samuel Harrison, on July 3, 1835, bequeathed the burial ground of the Ward and the Tilghman family to Mrs. Nancy Tilghman, wife of John, of Queen Anne's County, and to his heirs forever. Tracts in Chancery, #9113, John Leeds, executer of Samuel Harrison, vs. F. Gibson et al., HR.  
 79. Inventories and Accounts of Sales, 1812, folio 334, HR.  
 80. Register of Wills, Talbot County, List of Debts, 1812-1825, Liber JP #5, Microfilm Box 2, Reel 65-68, folios 28, 29, TCCH.  
 81. Talbot County Administration Accounts, 1817-1820, #11276, folios 245-55, HR.  
 82. Land Record, Liber BS #23, folios 508-10, TCCH.  
 83. Chancery Papers, Case 2674, 1814, HR.  
 84. Talbot County Orphan's Court Proceedings and Minutes, Microfilm #CR, TCCH: see also, Talbot County Register of Wills, Liber JP, Administration Bonds, 1808-1813, folios 290-93, HR.  
 85. Abstract of Vital Statistics, p. 61.  
 86. Writing from Cloverfields on August 30, 1813, to Arthur Tilghman Jones, J. T. Hemsley



acquainted his friend with the movements of the British. "They landed on Thursday last eighteen hundred men between Sherwood and St. Michael's and extended their line across to the head of Harris Creek (a distance of not half a mile) which is a branch of the Choptank River so that all communication was cut off with the lower part of the Bay. They took a considerable quantity of stock and embarked the same night." Hollyday papers, MS, Box 1312, MHS. Alexander Hemsley's losses of cattle, sheep, corn, and hay were communicated to *The Star*. Tilghman, *History of Talbot County*, 2:179.

87. Accounts, Talbot County, 1822-1824, folios 74-76, HR.
88. Surveys and plats of Mable and Three Necks are in Caveat Papers, #127A, 1815, Alexander Hemsley vs. P. Harris and Jesse Hull, HR.
89. Register of Wills, Talbot County, List of Debts, 1812-1825. On December 7, 1799, the legislature of Maryland passed a law to incorporate a company by name of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal Company. Richard Tilghman IV, along with others, was authorized to cooperate with the states of Delaware and Maryland to cut a canal between the Chesapeake Bay and the Delaware River, and to take out subscriptions to the amount of \$500,000 in shares of \$200 each. By 1803 there were sufficient number of shares subscribed to complete the organization of the company. Work was finally begun on May 2, 1804. Scharf, *History of Maryland*, p. 524.
90. Chancery Papers, Case #2674, 1814, HR.
91. Land Patent, Talbot County, 1713, Liber EE #6, folios 45, 46, HR.
92. *Ibid.*; see also, Rent Roll, Talbot County and Queen Anne County, 1650-1790, folio 201, HR.
93. Philip Sherwood's plantation dwelling house is also mentioned in his will. See, Wills, Liber 14, 1714-1718, folio 552, TCCH.
94. Land Record, Liber JL#20, folios 161, 162, August 5, 1771, HR.
95. Petition to Justice of Provincial Court, Matthew Tilghman, J. Nichols vs. Risdon Bozman, Hollyday Papers, MS, 831, MHS.
96. *Ibid.*
97. Assessment of 1783, HR.
98. 1798 Federal Assessment, Bay Hundred Dwelling Houses, Particular List, Bay Hundred, folio 25, HR. *The framed kitchen consisted of: a clean kitchen, a store room, and a cook kitchen.*
99. Talbot County Administration Accounts, 1817-1820, #11276, folios 245-47, HR. The other farms of Lloyd are also appraised, see, folios 247-55.
100. Land Commission, 1819-1830, folio 82, TCCH.
101. Administration Accounts, 1817-1820, folio 247, HR.
102. 1790 Federal Census, National Archives of the United States, Washington, D.C.
103. Land Commissions, 1819-1830, folios 69-92, TCCH.
104. Land Record, Liber JL #52, folios 266, 267, TCCH.
105. Land Record, Liber JP #63, folios 478-80, TCCH.
106. Land Record, Liber #78, folio 476, TCCH.
107. Land Record, Liber #232, folio 249, TCCH.
108. Land Record, Liber #258, folio 351, TCCH.
109. Land Record, Liber #414, folio 142, TCCH.
110. Land Record, Liber #432, folio 674, TCCH.
111. Land Record, Liber #461, folio 327, TCCH.
112. The author is indebted to Michael Bourne, Sudlersville, Maryland, for the architectural description of Sherwood Manor.
113. 1793 Federal Assessment, HR.
114. "Extracts from the Letter Books of Lieutenant Enos Reeves, of the Pennsylvania Line," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 21 (1897):244, 245.

# A Century of Accommodation: The Nanticoke Indians in Colonial Maryland

FRANK W. PORTER, III

**B**ASED ON THEIR CONTACT WITH EXPLORERS, TRADERS, MISSIONARIES, AND colonists who were from different countries, the many tribes of Native Americans inhabiting the Eastern seaboard initially were exposed to only specific facets of European culture. These Native Americans never experienced the entire range of European culture; consequently, the process of acculturation was extremely complex, impinging on the tribes from many different sources. In many instances tribes retreated as a result of culture contact. These migrations not only placed the tribes in new habitats, but brought them into contact with different aboriginal culture groups, forcing them to adapt to different cultural and environmental conditions and further complicating the process of acculturation.<sup>1</sup>

By the end of the seventeenth century only the Nanticoke and Choptank Indians on the Eastern Shore of Maryland had withstood nearly seventy years of mounting pressure and conflict created by continuous contact with the white settlers. While many of the smaller, lesser known tribes had been forced to disperse and were later absorbed into other tribes, some groups simply vanished leaving no evidence as to their fate. Unlike the Susquehannock Indians, who finally resorted to hostility and war to resist the Europeans, and the Piscataway, who allied themselves with the Maryland colonists only to be betrayed, the Nanticokes ultimately abandoned their villages on the Eastern Shore and migrated to Pennsylvania, New York, and Canada.<sup>2</sup>

Regarding the English policy of dealing with the Indians' possessory rights, Charles Royce has argued that the Indian was overlooked and ignored in most of the original grants of territory to private companies and colonists. While the Crown granted away title to land in the New World, it left to the discretion of the grantees how to deal with the inhabitants. Significantly, however, the Indians are not completely excluded in the charter issued by Charles I in 1632 which granted Maryland to Lord Baltimore. Four phrases in the charter allude to the Indians, but fail either to stipulate the rights of the Indians, or to indicate any concern for their welfare or proper treatment. First, there is a simple recognition that the granted territory is occupied by Indians. Second, mention is made of a payment which required "two Indian arrows of those parts to be delivered at the said castle of Windsor." Third, "savages" are referred to as among the possible enemies the colonists might have to en-

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Dr. Frank W. Porter III received his Doctoral degree from the University of Maryland, College Park.

counter. Finally, the fourth allusion to the Indians is the twelfth section of the charter which authorized Lord Baltimore to collect troops and wage war on the "barbarians" and other enemies who might threaten the settlements, and "to pursue them beyond the limits of their province," and "if God shall grant it, to vanquish and captivate them; and the captives to put to death, or according to their discretion, to save."<sup>3</sup> In effect, actual contact with the Indians would create the need to develop a policy which recognized the Indians' right of occupancy and the responsibility of the grantees to extinguish this right by purchase or other proper methods.

In the Maryland charter the King transferred to Lord Baltimore absolute authority, without reservation or exception in regard to the Indians, to deal with them in his own way as to their title to and possession of the land. Before leaving England Lord Baltimore instructed Governor Leonard Calvert that upon his arrival in Maryland he was initially to choose a place that would be "healthfull and fruitful," could be easily fortified, and would be convenient for trade both with the English and the "savages."<sup>4</sup> Three important spheres of activity in Maryland would gradually lead to the formation of a land policy towards the Indians: development of missionary activities, establishment of trade relationships with the Indians, and procurement of land from the Indians for the colonists.

In soliciting potential settlers to accompany him to Maryland, Lord Baltimore declared that his "chief intention" was "to plant Christianity there." "Never more noble Enterprise entred into English hearts," he indicated, and "The Indians themselves [are] sending farre and nigh for Teachers, to instruct and Baptize them."<sup>5</sup> In an early promotional tract about the colony, Lord Baltimore further publicized his purpose in colonizing Maryland.

The first and most important design . . . is, not to think so much of Planting fruits and trees in a land so fruitful, as of sowing the seeds of Religion and piety. [It is] Surely a design worthy of Christians, worthy of *angels*, worthy of *Englishmen*.<sup>6</sup>

After his arrival in Maryland, Leonard Calvert, conferring with the emperor of the Piscataway Indians, explained to him the purpose of their coming: "to teach them a divine doctrine, whereby to lead them to heaven, and to enrich with such ornaments of civill life as our owne country abounded withall." Seeking out the Indians, Father John Altham, a Jesuit missionary, critically pointed out the "errors of the heathens." Father Altham intended "to impart civilized instruction to [this] ignorant race, and show them the way to heaven, and at the same time [communicate] the advantages of distant countries." Completely unaware of the full implications of these conversations, Archihu, acting chief of Potomac, enthusiastically replied: "That is just what I wish, we will eat at the same table; my followers too shall go to hunt for you, and we will have all things in common."<sup>7</sup> Unknown to Father Altham, who was offering the brotherhood of Christianity, Archihu was responding with generalized reciprocity, which, Elman Service states, is the form of highest altruism.<sup>8</sup>

Although Lord Baltimore had publicly announced his intent to christianize the Indians, his primary objectives centered on procuring land and estab-

lishing trade relations with the Indians. To further sway the interests of "noble Gentlemen" in colonizing Maryland, Lord Baltimore generously offered two thousands acres of good land to any person who would contribute 100£ for the transportation of five able men and furnish them with arms, tools, clothes, utensils, and food for one year.<sup>9</sup> On March 25, 1634, Governor Leonard Calvert and an estimated two hundred and twenty-two colonists landed on the shores of Maryland and erected a cross at St. Clement's Island. In order to prevent any hostilities with the Indians, Calvert waived any question of right or superior power to the land, and agreed to purchase outright the site for a town and a thirty mile extent of land. The Piscataway Indians, who had previously decided to move further inland to avoid the raids of the Susquehannock Indians, readily agreed to the offer of Governor Calvert. Father Andrew White, in his *Narrative of a Voyage to Maryland*, observed that inter-tribal conflict facilitated the procuring of land. "The Susquehanna, a tribe inured to war, the bitterest enemies of King Yaocomico, making repeated inroads, ravage his whole territory, and have driven the inhabitants, from their apprehension of danger, to seek homes elsewhere," remarked Father White, "This is one reason why we so easily secured a part of his kingdom. They move away every day, first one party and then another, and leave us their houses, lands and cultivated fields."<sup>10</sup> This initial practice of purchasing the land from the Indians established a precedent, at least in theory, for future land transactions.

Unfortunately for the Indians a substantial inconsistency existed between Lord Baltimore's official interpretation of the legal status of Indian land titles and voluntary purchase of them by colonists. Many ambitious settlers, apparently unable to obtain grants of land from the proprietor, purchased land directly from the Indians and then produced their Indian deed as proof of title to the land. Instituting this practice was William Claiborne of Virginia who in 1638 attempted to strengthen his claim to land in Maryland, despite Lord Baltimore's grant, by purchasing Kent Island from the Indians. Maryland authorities immediately challenged Claiborne's title to the land because the purchase had not been authorized by Lord Baltimore. The final settlement of the dispute between Claiborne and Lord Baltimore did not consider the issue of purchasing the land from the Indians.<sup>11</sup> An Act of the Maryland Assembly passed in 1649, however, sought to alleviate future controversies by declaring that titles to land acquired through direct purchase from the Indians were not valid; titles must be acquired from authorities in Maryland. Such legislation proved to be ineffective. In 1723 the Maryland Assembly complained that unsanctioned private purchasing of Indian land was continuing, and forbade it, insisting that positively no recognition would be given to a land title so secured.<sup>12</sup> Jane Henry, focusing on proprietary policy with regard to the property rights of the Choptank Indians, argues that the large-scale encroachment of Indian land vastly exceeded the ability of the Proprietor of Maryland to control it.<sup>13</sup>

A broad network of trade relations between Virginia and the Indians of the Chesapeake Bay region had developed prior to the arrival of Lord Baltimore's contingent of settlers. Trade with the Indians had proven to be a very lucrative enterprise, and Lord Baltimore predicted that the "rich trade with the *Indians* of Beaver skins would possibly yield a profit of thirty to one."<sup>14</sup>

Participation in this trade network was quite harmful to the Indians. Robert Beverley of Virginia depicted the native Indians at the time of contact as "uncultivated in Learning, Trades, and Fashions; so Innocent, and ignorant of all manner of Politiks, Tricks, and Cunning; and so desirous of the Company of the English: That they seem'd rather to be like soft Wax, ready to take any Impression."<sup>15</sup> Father Andrew White similarly observed that the Indians "possessed . . . a wonderful longing for civilized intercourse with us, and for European garments."<sup>16</sup> Both Father White and Robert Beverley realized that the avarice of the traders had instilled hostility and suspicion among the Indians towards the Europeans. Uncontrolled and unregulated trade, Beverley suggested, "created Jealousies and Disturbances among the Indians, by letting one have a better Bargain than another: For they being unaccustom'd to barter, such of them as had been hardest dealt by in their Commodities, thought themselves cheated and abused; and so conceiv'd a Grudge against the *English* in general."<sup>17</sup>

One of the first pieces of legislation passed by the Maryland Assembly concerned trade with the Indians. Specifically, this legislation states that trade had been the main and chief encouragement of Lord Baltimore in undertaking the "great charge and hazard of planting this Province and to endue the Gentlemen and other first adventurers to come." The bill also affirmed the sole right of the Proprietor to trade with the Indians in Maryland and declared that no trade with the Indians would be conducted without a special license from Lord Baltimore. Regulating trade with the Indians was essential because it would prevent an increase in the price of Indian corn or its being transported out of the province in "time of our greatest need," restrict the spread of "Jealousies rumors and false news" among the Indians, and disallow poorly manned vessels to engage in trade with the Indians for fear the arms and ammunitions would fall into their possession.<sup>18</sup> By 1650 the Maryland Assembly had eliminated the restriction requiring a license from the Proprietor and given the inhabitants of the province liberty "to trade with any Indians, for any Beaver, or other Commodities, and the same to export (Corn excepted, which could not be exported without special Leave from the Governor)."<sup>19</sup> Apparently, more than three decades of exploiting the fur-bearing animals had depleted this resource and substantially reduced the profits accruing to the Proprietor.

Taken as a whole these three spheres of activity wrought tremendous change in the culture and habitat of the Indians of Maryland. Jesuit missionaries firmly believed that the Indians, once imbued with Christian precepts, would become "eminent observers of virtue and humanity." A major obstacle to be overcome was the inability of the Jesuits to communicate using the Indian language. "On account of the very many difficulties that present themselves in this Mission," wrote one Jesuit, "there has been thus far but little fruit from it, especially among the Savages, whose language is slowly acquired by our Countrymen, and can hardly be written at all."<sup>20</sup> Further complicating their work was the fact that the Maryland authorities would not allow the Jesuits to dwell among the Indians because of a prevailing sickness and the hostile disposition which the Indians evinced towards the English. The

Jesuits, however, were extremely persistent in attempting to learn the Indian language and through their patience and diligence succeeded in gradually converting many of the Indians.<sup>21</sup>

By June of 1639 the Jesuits had dispersed and established missions among several of the tribes. Father John Brock remained at the plantation of Metapannayen near Patuxent; Father Philip Fisher resided at St. Mary's, the principal town of the colony; Father John Grovener occupied Kent Island; and Father Andrew White lived with Chitomachen, emperor of the Piscataway at Kittamaqund. Within a short period of time Father White had managed not only to persuade the Indians to dress with more modesty, but succeeded in inducing Chitomachen to take only one wife. Other changes were more subtle in nature. In seeking the conversion of the Indians, the Jesuits often carried with them, as gifts for the Indians, bells, combs, fishhooks, needles, thread, and other articles.<sup>22</sup>

Despite the apparent success of the Jesuit missionaries in gaining converts, a century later, Shikellamy, an Oneida Indian, informed the Reverend David Brainerd: "We are Indians, and don't wish to be transformed into white men. The English are our Brethren, but we never promised to become what they are. As little as we desire the preacher to become Indian, so little ought he to desire the Indians to become preachers."<sup>23</sup> Adding to the difficulties of the Jesuits was the fact that Lord Baltimore did not allow them to proceed freely. In their attempts to live with the Indians, the Jesuits had secured land directly from them. Such a practice was contrary to proprietary policy. Lord Baltimore disallowed their holdings, forcing the Jesuits to relinquish their Indian lands. Even though they continued to proselytize the Indians, the Jesuits never realized their desire for large-scale conversions comparable to the missionary activity in Canada and South America.<sup>24</sup> Nevertheless, the close association and daily contact between the missionaries and the various tribes of Indians produced changes in both the material and non-material culture. How pervasive these non-material changes were is conjectural. Perhaps the conversions and baptisms which the missionaries so strongly emphasized were one means of the Indians to accommodate the physical presence of the Jesuits. But one must also consider the strong possibility that the success of the conversions depicted by the Jesuits were attempts to satisfy their Superiors in Europe and authorities in Maryland as to the success of their activities.

Ultimately, the most severe problem which continually confronted the Nanticokes and other tribes in Maryland after their initial contact with Europeans was encroachment of their land. While Father White and his fellow Jesuits had foreseen in their missionary activity only the benefits to both colonists and Indians, they paid little heed to the inherent detriment to the Indian way of life. "It is much more Prudence, and Charity, to Civilize, and make them Christians, then to kill, robbe, and hunt them from place to place, as you would do a wolfe," argued Father White, for "By reducing of them, God shall be served, his Majesties Empire enlarged by the addition of many thousand Subjects, as well as of large Territories, our Nation honoured, and the Planters themselves enriched by the trafficke and commerce which may be had with

them."<sup>25</sup> The prolific slaughter of fur-bearing animals, the constant clearing of woodland for agriculture, and the destruction of plant and animal food resources disrupted the seasonal subsistence strategy of the Nanticokes. As a result they became more and more dependent on European trade goods — food, clothing, utensils, and weapons.<sup>26</sup>

The colonial authorities of Maryland sought at an early date to protect the Indians by cautioning their inhabitants to respect the Indians' "Privileges" of hunting, fishing, and crabbing. Such admonitions went unheeded, and the early disruption of the economic environment of the Nanticokes can be evidenced by the numerous complaints registered against their killing and stealing domestic hogs and cattle. In 1666 an Indian named Mattagund appealed to Maryland officials to "Let us have no Quarrels for killing Hogs no more than for the Cows Eating the Indian corn. Your hogs & Cattle injure Us You come too near Us to live & Drive Us from place to place. We can fly no farther let us know where to live & how to be secured for the future from the Hogs & Cattle."<sup>27</sup> A half-century later similar complaints were still reaching the Maryland Assembly. In response the legislators issued a familiar statement in the following proclamation: "...severall avaricious & ill minded psons Inhabitants of this Province grdging the said Indians any Reasonable Subsistence do prevent & Obstruct them in their hunting, fishing and fowling & setting Traps . . . notwithstanding that it is Stipulated by the Government with the Indians Inhabiting within this province that they shall Exercise & Enjoy that freedom and Privilege . . ."<sup>28</sup>

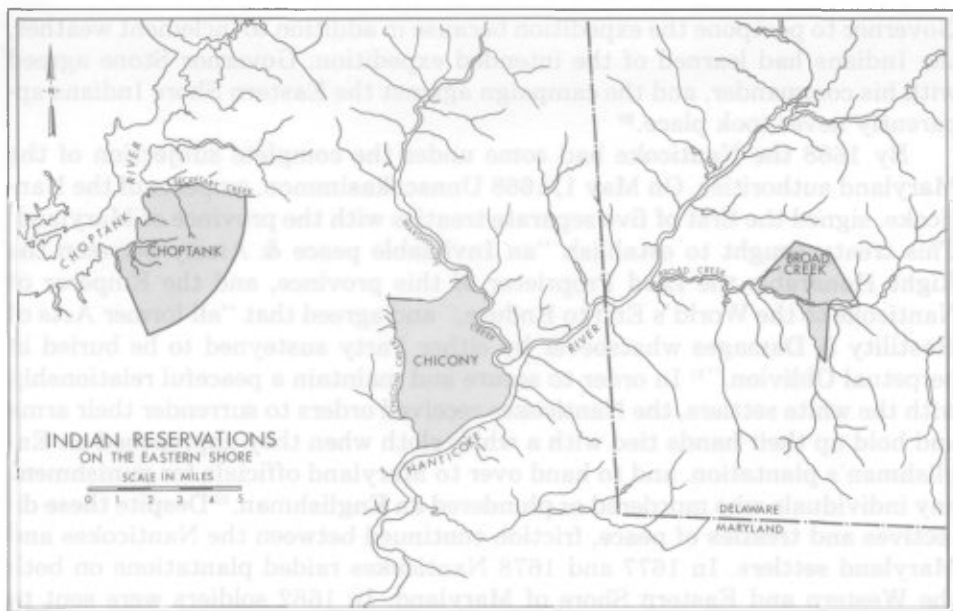
Between 1642 and 1698 the Nanticokes, frustrated by land-hungry settlers and unscrupulous traders, retaliated by intermittently either staging raids or threatening war to protect themselves and their land. In 1642 and again in 1647 the Nanticokes attacked several white settlements, and in turn were declared enemies of the province. On July 4, 1647, Captain John Price and thirty to forty armed men sailed across the Chesapeake Bay to put an end to these depredations. Price was ordered to show no mercy to the Indians, to destroy their corn, burn their houses, and kill them or take them prisoners.<sup>29</sup> The objective of these punitive measures was to prevent the Indians from planting corn, hunting, or fishing which would make them more dependent on the colony. In 1652, the Susquehannock Indians signed a treaty with Maryland's proprietary officials, relinquishing their claim to jurisdiction over the Eastern Shore as far south as the Choptank River. No longer fearful of reprisals from the Susquehannocks, Maryland authorities could now carry out military operations against the Eastern Shore Indians. Shortly thereafter, the Governor of Maryland received a petition from the inhabitants of Kent Island which stated: "there hath been by the Eastern Shore Indians one Murdered and now of late one Shott, another killed, and Stript neare to his own house." The petitioners further requested that the Governor "take Some Speedy Course for the Suppressing of these Heathens, and avenging of Guiltless Blood, and the preservation of our lives with our wives and Children." Although Governor William Stone responded positively to this request, Captain William Fuller, who had been placed in command of the troops, advised the



Governor to postpone the expedition because in addition to inclement weather, the Indians had learned of the intended expedition. Governor Stone agreed with his commander, and the campaign against the Eastern Shore Indians apparently never took place.<sup>30</sup>

By 1668 the Nanticoke had come under the complete subjection of the Maryland authorities. On May 1, 1668 Unnacokasimmon, emperor of the Nanticoke, signed the first of five separate treaties with the province of Maryland. This treaty sought to establish "an Inviolable peace & Amity between the Right Honorable the Lord Proprietor of this province, and the Emperor of Nanticoke to the World's End to Endure," and agreed that "all former Acts of Hostility & Damages whatsoever by either Party susteyned to be buried in perpetual Oblivion."<sup>31</sup> In order to secure and maintain a peaceful relationship with the white settlers, the Nanticokes received orders to surrender their arms and hold up their hands tied with a white cloth when they approached an Englishman's plantation, and to hand over to Maryland officials for punishment any individuals who murdered or plundered an Englishman.<sup>32</sup> Despite these directives and treaties of peace, friction continued between the Nanticokes and Maryland settlers. In 1677 and 1678 Nanticokes raided plantations on both the Western and Eastern Shore of Maryland. In 1682 soldiers were sent to punish these offenders. And in 1687 rumors circulated that the Nanticokes were planning an uprising against the colony.<sup>33</sup> Throughout this period the Whites continued to occupy Nanticoke land illegally.

Exasperated by the loss of their land and as a further means of accommodating the permanent presence of the white settlers, the Choptank, and later the Nanticoke Indians, requested the Maryland authorities to provide them with tracts of land legally established by a grant from Lord Baltimore. The Maryland Assembly responded with the establishment of the Choptank, Chicony, and Broad Creek Reservations (see map p. 182). In 1669 the Maryland Assembly created a reservation for the Choptank Indians. It included the land on the south side of the Choptank River, bounded on the west by the freehold of William Dorrington, on the east with "secretary Sewall's Creek (now called Secretary Creek) for breadth, and for length three miles into the woods: to be held of his Lordship under yearly rental of six beaver skins." In 1698 the Maryland legislators passed an act to create a reservation for the Nanticoke Indians of Dorchester County, but this legislation was repealed in 1704 and a similar act was passed to define the bounds of the Chicony Reservation. The reservation was described as beginning at the mouth of Chickawan Creek (now called Chicone Creek), extending up that creek to its source, then along a straight line to the headwaters of Francis Anderton's Branch, down this creek to where it enters the North West Fork of the Nanticoke River (now called Marshyhope Creek), down the North West Fork to its entrance into the Nanticoke River, and down the Nanticoke to the original line at the mouth of Chicone Creek. Chicony Reservation was surveyed for the "use of the Nanticoke Indians in Dorchester County, so long as they shall occupy and live upon the same." In 1711 the Maryland Assembly provided an additional 3,000 acres of land for the Nanticokes on Broad Creek.<sup>34</sup>



Permanent residence on reservations was antithetic to the seasonal subsistence strategy of the Nanticoke. The Nanticoke's and other Algonkian tribes' economy produced a specific strategy of subsistence well adapted to different ecological zones. Ronald A. Thomas, *et al* and Daniel R. Griffith, analyzing the Indians' environmental adaptations to Delaware's Coastal Plain, identify six micro-environments available to the aboriginal population: (1) poorly-drained woodlands, (2) transitional woodlands, (3) well-drained woodlands, (4) tidal marsh and estuarine, (5) permanent fresh water, and (6) salt water bays and oceans. After the associated flora and fauna used as a foodstuff by the Indians and their seasonal fluctuations were determined, Griffith, using archaeological data, postulated four possible settlement types: (1) seasonal camps, (2) permanent camps, (3) semi-permanent camps, and (4) transient camps.<sup>35</sup> Early observations of the Indians depict this movement to seasonal camps. Sir Richard Greeneville, who visited Virginia from 1585 to 1586, stated: "... the Savages disband into small groups and disperse to different places to live upon shell fish. Other places afford fishing and hunting while their fields are being prepared for the planting of corn."<sup>36</sup> Captain John Smith vividly described this seasonal subsistence strategy.

In March and April they live much upon their fishing, weares; and feed on fish, Turkeys and squirrels. In May and June they plant their fieldes; and live most of Acornes, walnuts, and fish. But to mend their diet, some disperse themselves in small companies, and live upon fish, beasts, crabs, oysters, land Torteyses, strawberries, mulberries, and such like. In June, Julie, and August, they feed upon the roots of Tocknough, berries, fish and green wheat.<sup>37</sup>

The continued success of the Nanticoke in their subsistence efforts depended entirely upon freedom of mobility and access to these micro-environments at critical seasons of the year.

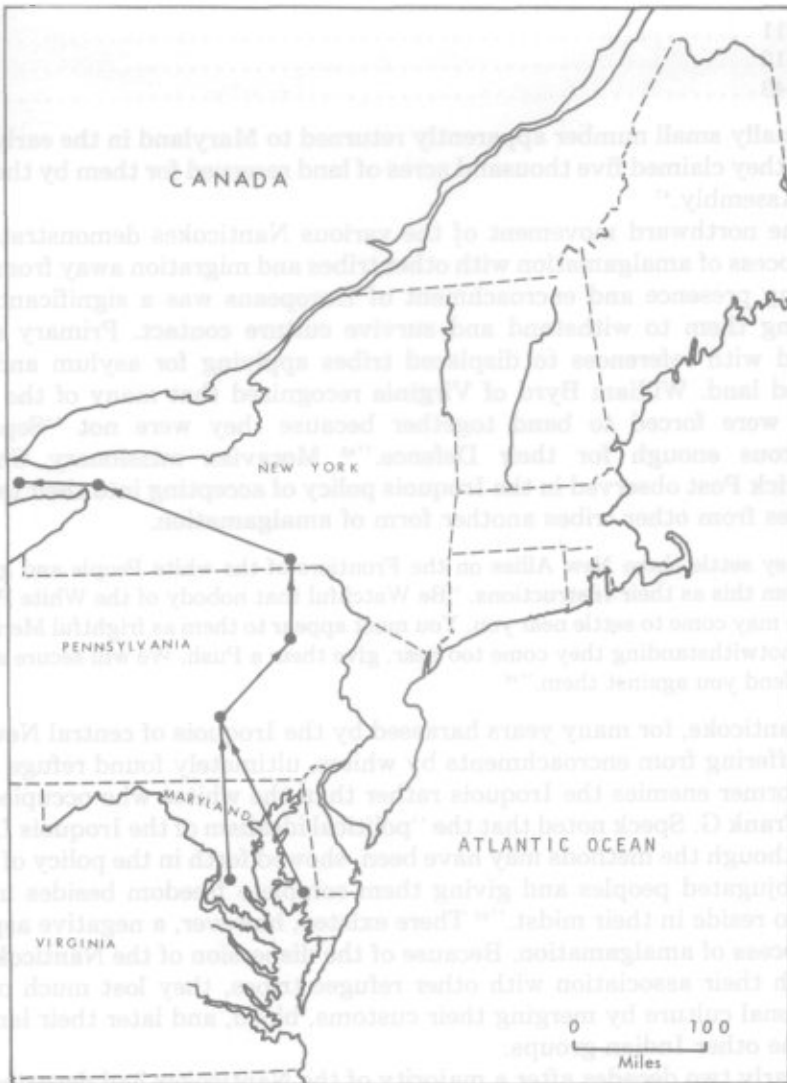
Though serving to ease the difficulties arising from land encroachment, reservations created a more serious dilemma by undermining the seasonal subsistence strategy which the Nanticoke depended upon to meet their basic needs. Two critical problems emanated from residence on the reservations: the disruption of the Nanticoke's ability to subsist in their habitat and the misunderstanding associated with the clause, "so long as they shall occupy and live upon the same." In 1711, less than a decade after removing to the Chicony Reservation, the Nanticoke bitterly claimed that their lands were worn out and insufficient for their use. They requested additional land, which was granted to them with the erection of Broad Creek Reservation. An equally grave crisis which continued to plague the Nanticoke was the "repeated and excessive trespass" on their land by white settlers. Once again the Maryland Assembly sought to stave off these offenses by assuring the Nanticoke of their "free and uninterrupted possession of the tract lying between the North Fork of the Nanticoke River and Chicucune Creek . . . so long as they or any of them should think fit to use and not totally desert and quit the same." As a final precaution, the Nanticoke were prevented from the right to sell or lease their land.<sup>38</sup>

Despite these protective measures, the abuse and disregard of the Nanticoke's right to occupy the reservations continued. In some instances diverse "Trespassers and Wasters" destroyed Indian land "by falling, mauling, and carrying away the Timber off from such Land, and refus[ing] to pay and satisfy the said Indians for the same."<sup>39</sup> In violation of the laws passed by the Maryland Assembly, some people rented and settled on Indian land, and then failed to pay the agreed upon rent. While certain individuals clandestinely purchased the land from the Indians and built farmsteads, others simply squatted on the land and assumed ownership by right of occupancy. In 1759 a delegation of the remnants of several tribes assigned to reservations on the Eastern Shore informed Governor Horatio Sharpe that they were severely reduced in number, suffering from a shortage of food, and being forced from their land. The Indians appealed to Sharpe to consider the "Pitiful Scituation and Condition if we cannot have the freedom and Privilege which we were allowed of in Antient Times."<sup>40</sup>

Although they tried to reside within the confines of the reservations, the Indians were repeatedly thwarted in their efforts by land-hungry whites. While venturing forth into the woods to hunt and build cabins for shelter, the Indians recounted, "some of the White People when we go out of them will set them on fire and burn them down to the ground and leave us Destitute of any Cover to Shelter us from the weather."<sup>41</sup> One incident vividly portrays the conflict between the Indians residing on reservations and Englishmen who desired to gain possession of their land. In 1723 Captain John Rider and Isaac Nicholls claimed that they had gained legal possession of a large tract of land on an Indian reservation because they had found the reservation deserted ex-

cept for one Indian, William Asquash, the son of the late Nanticoke emperor. Testimony established that Rider had physically ousted Asquash and set his cabin on fire, building in turn a clapboard house of his own. The Indians, returning in the Fall of the year, took up residence and burned the house erected by Rider. They testified that Rider had indeed found their towns uninhabited because most of the Indians had "gone out to their hunting quarters according to their usual practice." The Maryland authorities ruled that Rider and Nicholls were trespassers and had no right or title to the land.<sup>42</sup> The argument continually advanced by the Europeans to justify their actions was that the Indian land appeared to be deserted and abandoned. The terms of the reservation grants stipulated that the land reverted to Maryland as soon as the Indians ceased to occupy it. In actuality the Nanticokes had not abandoned the land but were merely following their traditional subsistence strategy of seasonal migration to food resources.

Beginning in the early 1740s several groups of Nanticokes left their homes on the Eastern Shore of Maryland and emigrated to Pennsylvania. An attempt by the French to unite the various tribes in Maryland and Pennsylvania in an uprising against the English settlers prompted the Nanticokes to abandon the Eastern Shore. In 1742, after a century of abuse, hostility, and misunderstanding, the Nanticokes agreed to participate in this revolt. The Indians of the Eastern Shore congregated in a swamp called Winnasocum along the Pocomoke River to join in a war dance. Fortunately for the Maryland settlers, a Choptank Indian informed the authorities of the pending uprising, and the plot came to an abrupt end. The Maryland Assembly severely reprimanded the Nanticokes for their part in the conspiracy and warned them that "We have it in our Power to take all your Lands from you, and use you as your ill Designes against Us have deserved. . . , but We are rather desirous to use you kindly like Brethren in hopes that it will beget the same kindness in You to Us."<sup>43</sup> Unmoved by this dubious overture of friendship, a delegation of Nanticoke Indians appeared in 1744 before the Maryland authorities and requested permission to leave the province and live among the Six Nations.<sup>44</sup> By 1748 a majority of the Nanticokes had removed to the Juniata River and Wyoming Valley in Pennsylvania, while another group established a village at Chenango near present day Binghamton, New York. Soon after constructing a village at Juniata, delegates from the Nanticokes and several other tribes complained to the Governor and Council of Pennsylvania that Whites "were Settling & design'd to Settle the Lands on the Branches of Juniata." The delegates insisted on their removal because this was the hunting ground of the Nanticokes and other Indians living along the Juniata. Within a short time the Nanticokes moved to Wyoming Valley only to be forced out in 1755 with the outbreak of hostilities during the French and Indian War. By 1765 they had temporarily resided at Oswego, Chugnut, and Chenango in New York. From New York the remnants of the Nanticoke tribe settled in Canada and came completely under the dominance of the Six Nations. This resulted in their being virtually denationalized by the Iroquois (see map).<sup>45</sup>



NANTICOKE MIGRATION, 1748-84

Charles M. Johnston, in his documentary study of the Six Nations at Grand River Reservation in Ontario, argues that the number of Nanticoke during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century was negligible when contrasted with the population of the Six Nations, thus relegating the tribe to a minor role in political affairs and the economy.<sup>46</sup> The following census figures reflect the small number of Nanticoke living on the Grand River Reservation:

1785	11
1810	9

1811 .....	10
1813 .....	2
1843 .....	47

An equally small number apparently returned to Maryland in the early 1850s where they claimed five thousand acres of land reserved for them by the Maryland Assembly.<sup>47</sup>

The northward movement of the various Nanticokes demonstrates how the process of amalgamation with other tribes and migration away from the increasing presence and encroachment of Europeans was a significant factor enabling them to withstand and survive culture contact. Primary sources abound with references to displaced tribes applying for asylum and being granted land. William Byrd of Virginia recognized that many of the Indian tribes were forced to band together because they were not "Separately Numerous enough for their Defence."<sup>48</sup> Moravian missionary Christian Frederick Post observed in the Iroquois policy of accepting into their territory refugees from other tribes another form of amalgamation.

They settle these New Allies on the Frontiers of the white People and give them this as their Instructions. "Be Watchful that nobody of the White People may come to settle near you. You must appear to them as frightful Men, & if notwithstanding they come too near, give them a Push. We will secure and defend you against them."<sup>49</sup>

The Nanticoke, for many years harassed by the Iroquois of central New York and suffering from encroachments by whites, ultimately found refuge among their former enemies the Iroquois rather than the whites who occupied their land. Frank G. Speck noted that the "political idealism of the Iroquois League, harsh though the methods may have been, showed forth in the policy of adopting subjugated peoples and giving them complete freedom besides inviting them to reside in their midst."<sup>50</sup> There existed, however, a negative aspect to the process of amalgamation. Because of the dispersion of the Nanticoke, and through their association with other refugee tribes, they lost much of their traditional culture by merging their customs, blood, and later their language with the other Indian groups.

Nearly two decades after a majority of the Nanticokes had departed from the Eastern Shore they initiated proceedings to sell their remaining land in Maryland. Sir William Johnson, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the northern colonies, corresponded with Governor Horatio Sharpe in 1767, requesting him to give the Nanticokes "all the Assistance and protection you can, and direct how their rights there are to be disposed of."<sup>51</sup> Although Governor Sharpe indicated that he could not proceed with this matter until the Assembly convened, the following year the Maryland Assembly passed "An Act for Granting to the Nanticoke Indians a compensation for the lands therein mentioned."<sup>52</sup> The Nanticokes received \$666.66 in exchange for relinquishing their claim to any land in the province of Maryland.

A remnant group of Choptank Indians, often mistaken by many later observers as Nanticokes, continued to live on their reservation land. In 1798

the Maryland Assembly appointed Henry Waggaman, William B. Martin, James Steele, Moses Le Compte, and William Marbury as commissioners to purchase the land belonging to the Choptanks residing in Dorchester County. They were ordered "to repair to the Indian settlement near Secretary's Creek, in Dorchester county, and to contract, covenant, and agree . . . with the Choptank Indians inhabiting the said settlement, for the purchase of the right, title and interest of the said Indians, to all and singular the lands and tenements aforesaid . . . There shall be reserved to the said Indians, for their own cultivation and improvement, a quantity of the said land, not exceeding one hundred acres, to be laid off by the said commissioners as to include their present settlements, and a suitable proportion of the woodland." Finally in 1801 the Maryland legislators assumed control of the remaining Choptank land after Molley Mulberry died without leaving any descendants.<sup>53</sup> Even though the Nanticoke and Choptank Indians had relinquished their land in Maryland, several families of Indian descent remained on the Eastern Shore.

The reaction of an aboriginal people to the presence and culture of an intrusive and colonizing people is, to a certain degree, conditioned by their cultural background, their present political, social and economic organization, the degree of their cultural self-sufficiency, and their population numbers.<sup>54</sup> Conversely, the attitude and reaction of the intruding culture towards an aboriginal people is influenced by their immediate objectives: exploration, conquest, colonization, or exploitation. Also important is whether the indigenous people are part of an integrated village with tribal organization under the control of a headman or chief, or if they are semi-nomadic and food-gatherers with no settled villages, permanent gardens, and centralized political authority. In the latter case the intruders often perceive that these individuals are less than human and thus possess no culture. For this reason they are unlikely either to recognize, let alone respect, native ways, customs, beliefs, and values, or to adjust to them their method of economic, administrative, or spiritual invasion. From the intruder's point of view any adaptation or change in such an instance must be all on one side: that of the aboriginal culture.<sup>55</sup>

In the case of the aboriginal population of the Chesapeake Bay region, the Jesuit missionaries hoped to ameliorate through conversion the spiritual and ideological values of the Indians, while the traders and settlers sought to aggrandize their positions by altering the economic base of the Indians by encroachment on their land and through the introduction of material goods dependent on a foreign technology. Although the Nanticoke and other tribes in Maryland possessed a sophisticated political organization with a centralization of authority, had devised a variety of economic adjustments to their habitat, and were able to satisfy all of their basic needs by a combination of food-gathering, hunting, fishing, and agriculture, by the beginning of the eighteenth century the population of Indians in Maryland had decreased significantly.<sup>56</sup> In order to protect their habitat the Nanticoke and other tribes had sought legal council, waged war, and resigned themselves to reservations, but to no avail. As a final means of accommodating the Europeans and preserving some semblance of their traditional culture, individual families of Nanticoke



began, as early as 1722, to leave Maryland; and by 1748 a majority of the tribe had removed to the Juniata River and Wyoming Valley of Pennsylvania. In 1768 they sold their remaining land in Maryland.

One of the most significant consequences stemming from the contact between the Nanticokes and European settlers was the dramatic decline of their population. Raphael Semmes, in his study of aboriginal Maryland from 1608 to 1689, calculated the total aboriginal population to be 6,500. James Mooney, estimating the aboriginal population of America north of Mexico, noted the following for Maryland:

Maryland	1600	1907
Conoy or Piscataway, Patuxent, etc. . . . .	2,000	Extinct
Tocwogh and Ozinies . . . . .	700	Extinct
Nanticoke, etc. . . . .	1,600	80 (?) mixture
Wicomico . . . . .	400	20 (?) mixture

According to John Smith the Nanticoke in 1608 numbered between two and three thousand. In 1730 the Reverend David Humphreys observed that "the number of the native Indians did not exceed 120, who had a small Settlement on the utmost Border of the Parish, where it adjoins to Maryland."<sup>57</sup> In 1756 it was estimated "that there are about 140 Indians in Maryland who reside in the populous parts of the Country on several Tracts of Land that have been reserved for their Use since the English first settled here, these domestic Indians are well inclined and live in good Harmony with the Inhabitants."<sup>58</sup> James Mooney and Cyrus Thomas, in their article on the Nanticoke in the *Handbook of American Indians*, stated: "... the majority of the tribe, in company with remnants of the Mahican and Wappinger, emigrated to the W. about 1784 and joined the Delaware in Ohio and Indiana, with whom they soon became incorporated, disappearing as a distinct tribe. A few mixed-bloods live on Indian r., Delaware."<sup>59</sup> By the close of the eighteenth century there was a general consensus, although later proved inaccurate, that no Indians remained in Maryland.<sup>60</sup>

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4. Wm. Hand Browne, *George Calvert and Cecilius Calvert Barons Baltimore of Baltimore* (New York, 1890), p. 48. "Instructions 13 Novem. 1633 directed by the Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> Cecil<sup>us</sup> Lo: Baltimore and Lord of the Provinces of Mary Land and Avalon unto his well beloved Brother Leo: Calvert Esq<sup>r</sup> his Lop<sup>s</sup> Deputy Governor of his province of Mary Land and unto Jerom Hawley and Thomas Cornwaleys Esq<sup>ts</sup> his Lopp<sup>s</sup> Commissioners for the government of the said province." Original draft located in the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland. For a brief treatment of Maryland's Indian land policy see Charles C. Royce, *Indian Land Cessions in the United States*, pp. 569-575; and Myriam Stottnero-Montero, "The Rights of the Indians in America and the English Land Policies in the 17th Century Colonies in America" (Master's thesis, University of Virginia, 1963).
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14. *A Declaration of the Lord Baltemore's Plantation in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1929), p. 4. "There is a lucrative trade with the Indians," exclaimed Lord Baltimore, "a certain merchant in the last year, exported beaver skins to the value of 40,000 gold crowns." *An Account of the Colony of the Lord Baron of Baltimore*, p. 8.
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16. White, *Narrative of a Voyage to Maryland*, p. 41.
17. Beverley, *History and Present State of Virginia*, pp. 29-30.
18. *Archives of Maryland*, 1:38, 42-44.
19. *Archives of Maryland*, 1:307-308.
20. White, *Narrative of a Voyage to Maryland*, p. 54.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 85; and B. U. Campbell, "Early Missions Among the Indians in Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 1 (December 1906): 293-316.
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 62-63.
23. Wm. M. Beauchamp, ed., *Moravian Journals Relating to Central New York 1745-66* (Syracuse, 1916), p. 7; and Kenneth G. Hamilton, "Cultural Contributions of Moravian Missions among the Indians," *Pennsylvania History* 18 (January 1951): 1-15.
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25. "Of the Naturall Disposition of the Indians," in *Narratives of Early Maryland*, ed. Clayton C. Hall (New York, 1910), p. 90.
26. [Pennsylvania Archives]. *Colonial Records*. Edited by Samuel Hazard (Harrisburg and Philadelphia, 1838-1853): 4, pp. 707-708. "Every now and then the English have chided us that we would have Perished if they had not come into the Country and furnished us with Strowds and Hatchets and Guns and other things necessary for the Support of Life. But we always gave them to understand that they were mistaken, that we lived before they came amongst us, and as well or better, if we may believe what our Forefathers have told Us. We had then room enough and Plenty of Deer, which was easily caught, and tho' we had not Knives, Hatchets, or Guns, such as we have now, yet we had Knives of Stone and Hatchets of Stone, and Bows and Arrows, and these Served our Uses as well then as the English ones do now. We are now Straitned and sometimes in want of Deer, and Lyable to many other In-conveniences since the English came among Us, and particularly from that Pen and Ink work. . . ." For a complete analysis of the relationship between Indians and European traders see George Irving Quimby, *Indian Culture and European Trade Goods* (Madison, 1966); Wilbur R. Jacobs, *Dispossessing the American Indian: Indians and Whites on the Colonial Frontier* (New York, 1972); and Georgiana C. Nammack, *Fraud, Politics, and the Dispossession of the Indians: The Iroquois Land Frontier in the Colonial Period* (Norman, 1969).
27. *Archives of Maryland* 2:15. In 1712 the Maryland Assembly finally addressed the "great Evil accruing to this Province by the Multiplicity of useless horse, mares, & colts that run in the woods." *Laws of Maryland* (Annapolis, 1765), 1712 Chapter 4. In 1666, and again in 1692 and 1699, the Maryland Assembly passed "An Act prohibiting Trade with the Indians, for any Flesh dead or alive, except Deer and Wild Fowl." This law strongly suggests that the Indians, accustomed to selling the meat of wild game to the colonists, continued this practice after the supply of these animals decreased by killing domestic animals.
28. *Archives of Maryland* 33:22-23 and 73-74.
29. *Archives of Maryland* 3:191.
30. *Archives of Maryland* 15:143-148; 8:31, 35, and 36; 17:311; 5:547; 23:456-457; 29:229; 33:311; and 34:207. Raphael Semmes, *Captains and Mariners* (Baltimore, 1937) succinctly narrates these expeditions. For a brief summary see C. A. Weslager, *The Nanticoke Indians: A Refugee Tribal Group of Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, 1948), pp. 37-44.
31. *Archives of Maryland* 5:29-30 and 558-559; 8:533-536; 26:442-444; and 28:587-589.
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Archives of Maryland* 5:547. In 1687 two Nanticokes assaulted Richard Enock and Francis Freeman, who lived in Baltimore County, wounding them and Enock's wife when she came to his assistance. A group of white settlers went to the "Indian Cabinn" and demanded the perpetrators to surrender, but they had already fled. A month later the circumstances surrounding this particular incident were made public. The murder of Enock was to avenge the earlier slaying of a Nanticoke Indian. The report stated "the Indian [Annockohill the white Indian] did doe prejudice to the murdered Enock's stock by cutting his Piggs Eares off & Tails and when the reason was demanded why they did doe they said the Piggs eat their corn and when Enock's Wife spoke chidingly they sayd the Englishmen would not chide nor scold when they killed the Nanticoke Indian last Spring." *Archives of Maryland* 8:5 and 10.
34. *Archives of Maryland* 29:20. *Laws of Maryland* (Annapolis, 1765), 1704 Chapter 58; 1711 Chapter 1; John Kilty, *The Land-holder's Assistant* (Baltimore, 1808), pp. 350-359; and Henry H. Hutchinson, "Indian Reservations of the Maryland Provincial Assembly on the Middle Delmarva Peninsula," *The Archeologist* 13 (October 1961): 1-5. The underlying motive for providing the additional land to the Nanticokes concerned the fear among several of the Maryland legislators about the hostilities in North Carolina with the Tuscarora Indians. *Archives of Maryland* 29:10 and 45.
35. Ronald A. Thomas, Daniel R. Griffith, Cara L. Wise, and Richard E. Artusy, Jr., "Environmental Adaptation on Delaware's Coastal Plain," *Archaeology of Eastern North America* 3 (1975): 35-90; and Daniel R. Griffith, "Ecological Studies of Prehistory," in *Transactions of the Delaware Academy of Science*, ed. John C. Kraft (Newark, 1976), pp. 63-81.
36. *An Account of the Particularities of the employments of the English men left in Virginia by Sir Richard Greeneville under the charge of Master Ralph Lane Generall of the same, from the 17. of August 1585. until the 18. of June 1586. at which time they departed the country, in The Principal Navigations Voyages Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* (New York, 1965), Vol. 8, p. 338.

37. Edward Arber, ed., *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith President of Virginia, and Admiral of New England 1580-1631*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1910), p. 68.
38. *Archives of Maryland* 29:20.
39. *Laws of Maryland* (Annapolis, 1765), 1756 Chapter 9, "An Act for Quieting the Differences that have arisen, and may hereafter arise, between the Inhabitants of this Province and the several Indian Nations, and for Punishing Tresspassers on their Land."
40. *Archives of Maryland* 31:356.
41. *Ibid.*
42. *Archives of Maryland* 34:522; and 35:267 and 369. A similar situation developed when Roger Fowler built a farm on the Chicony Reservation. The Maryland Assembly ordered Fowler to remove from the reservation land. The Choptank Indians indicated that "the English have Very much Incroached upon them in Settling within the Bounds of their Land at Choptank so that they are now Drove into a small narrow neck called Locust Neck." *Archives of Maryland* 33:311-312.
43. *Archives of Maryland* 28:257-270 for a complete account of the plot. Also, Weslager, *The Nanticoke Indians*; and idem, "The Nanticoke Indians in Early Pennsylvania History," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 67 (October 1943): 345-355.
44. *Archives of Maryland* 28:338-339.
45. For an extended treatment of the migration of the Nanticokes from the Eastern Shore of Maryland to Canada see Weslager, *The Nanticoke Indians*. "The 6 nations after conquering the Delawares removed them & gave them Lands to plant & hunt on at Wyoming & Juniata, on Susquehanna, but the Pennsylvanians, covetous of Lands made plantations there & spoiled their hunting grounds. . . ." "The French to whom they were drove back took advantage of it, & told them tho the French built trading houses on their Land they did not plant it. . . , but the English planted all the country, drove them back so that in a little time they wou'd have no land." L. Mulkearn, ed., *George Mercer Papers Relating to the Ohio Company of Virginia* (Pittsburgh, 1954), p. 302. "But now the Lands all round them being settled by white People," wrote one Pennsylvania official, "their hunting is spoiled And they have been long advised by the Six Nations to leave the place and go higher up the River and Settle either at the Mouth of Conodogwinnet, Chiniotta or up at Shamokin." *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania* 4 vols. (Harrisburg, 1851), 4:656-657. Also, *Archives of Maryland* 28:338-339.
46. Charles M. Johnston, ed., *The Valley of the Six Nations. A Collection of Documents on the Indian Lands on the Grand River* (Toronto, 1964), pp. xl, 52, 203n, 281, and 307. Frank G. Speck visited the remaining Nanticokes living among the Iroquois in the 1920s. *The Nanticoke and Conoy Indians with a Review of Linguistic Material from Manuscript and Living Sources; an Historical Study* (Wilmington, 1927).
47. *Report of the Select Committee on the Claims of the Nanticoke Indians made to the House of Delegates* (Annapolis, 1853). This group of Nanticokes came from Canada to seek compensation for their land in Maryland. "We are driven back," lamented one of their aged warriors, "until we can retreat no further. Our hatchets are broken — our bows are snapped — our fires are nearly gone out. A little longer and the white man will cease to pursue us, for we shall cease to exist." After reviewing the claims of the Nanticokes, the committee concluded: "Our forefathers dealt justly with the Indians — Maryland never failed in any of her obligations; but, always friendly, shielded under her protecting wing, the red men of the forest; and, finally, when they determined to leave our borders, and remove with the bones of their ancestors to a distant home, paid all that was required, and thus our forefathers and theirs parted friends."
48. John S. Bassett, ed., *The Writings of Colonel William Byrd of Westover in Virginia, Esqr.* (New York, 1901), p. 245. For an extended treatment of this topic see Anthony F. C. Wallace, "Political Organization and Land Tenure Among the Northeastern Indians, 1600-1830," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 13 (1957): 301-327.
49. Pennsylvania Archives 1758-1759, Frederick Posts's Papers, Delivered with his Journal, 19th Jan'y 1759. Manuscripts Department, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
50. Frank G. Speck, *Indians of the Eastern Shore of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1922), p. 3.
51. *Archives of Maryland* 32:209-211.
52. *Archives of Maryland* 14:471 and 512.
53. The fate of the Choptank Indians parallels that of the Nanticokes. After they sold the last parcel of their reservation land, and with the death of Mary Mulberry, the Choptanks

- ceased to exist as a tribal entity. One should not discount, however, the possibility that some of the individual Choptanks joined with other remnant groups on the Eastern Shore, but lost their identity within the broader collective assortment of Indians. *Laws of Maryland* (Annapolis, 1817), vol. 3 1801 Chapter 101.
54. A. P. Elkins, "Reaction and Interaction: A Food Gathering People and European Settlement in Australia," *American Anthropologist* 53 (1951): 164-186. For an older, but still insightful treatment of culture contact see Earl E. Muntz, *Race Contact* (New York, 1927); Melville J. Herskovits, *Acculturation: The Study of Culture Contact* (New York, 1938); and Robert Redfield, Ralph Linton, and Melville J. Herskovits, "A Memorandum on Acculturation," *American Anthropologist* 38 (1936): 149-152. A more recent perspective is Edward H. Spicer, ed., *Perspectives in American Indian Culture Change* (Chicago, 1961).
  55. Elkins, "Reaction and Interaction," p. 165.
  56. Robert L. Stephenson, Alice L. L. and Henry G. Ferguson, *The Accokeek Creek Site: A Middle Atlantic Seaboard Culture Sequence*, Anthropological Papers Museum of Anthropology University of Michigan, no. 20 (Ann Arbor, 1963); Henry T. Wright, *An Archeological Sequence in the Middle Chesapeake Region, Maryland*, Archaeological Studies no. 1 (Baltimore, 1973); Regina Flannery, *An Analysis of Coastal Algonquian Culture*, Catholic University of America Anthropological Series, no. 7 (Washington, D.C., 1939); and Daniel R. Griffith, "Ecological Studies of Prehistory," *Proceedings of the 6th Annual Middle Atlantic Archeology Conference* (1975): 30-38. Although there has been no significant research performed on the introduction and consequences of Old World diseases in Maryland, the following citations provide a general background on this subject. S. F. Cook, "Demographic Consequences of European Contact with Primitive Peoples," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* 237 (1945): 107-111; Ernest Canfield, "Early Measle Epidemics in America," *Yale Journal of Biology and Medicine* 15 (1943): 531-556; D. J. Davis, "Early Plagues and Pestilences of the Peoples who First Came to America," *Illinois Medical Journal* 102 (1952): 288-292; and G. Sticker, "Epidemics Brought to the New World by White Conquerors," *Revista de Higiene y de Tuberculosis* 24 (1931): 78-83. For a broad synthesis of this theme see Alfred W. Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport, 1972).
  57. James Mooney, *The Aboriginal Population of America North of Mexico*, Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, no. 80 (Washington, D.C., 1928), p. 6; and Raphael Semmes, "Aboriginal Maryland, 1608-1689. Part Two: The Western Shore," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 24 (September 1929): 195-209. Also David Humphreys, *An Historical Account of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts* (London, 1730), pp. 159-168.
  58. *Archives of Maryland* 31:146.
  59. [James Mooney and Cyrus Thomas], "Nanticokes," *Bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology* no. 30 (Washington, D.C., 1910), pp. 24-26.
  60. For a discussion of the remnant Nanticoke tribe see Frank G. Speck, "The Nanticoke Community of Delaware," *Contributions from the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation* 2 (1915); C. A. Weslager, *Delaware's Forgotten Folk: the Story of the Moors & Nanticokes* (Philadelphia, 1943); and Frank W. Porter III, "Anthropologists at Work: A Case Study of the Nanticoke Indian Community," *American Indian Quarterly* 4 (February 1978): 1-18.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*London Town: A Brief History.* By Donald Shomette. (Londontown, Md.: London Town Publik House Commission, Inc., 1978. Pp. viii, 84. \$3.50.)

The modern visitor to the London Town Publik House will find it hard to imagine that this was the site of one of Maryland's bustling eighteenth century port towns. Shomette's brief monograph recreates the rise and decline of the Anne Arundel County town.

London Town had its start as one of Maryland's legislated towns of the 1680s, a part of the colonial government's efforts to foster urban growth. Nevertheless, by the early eighteenth century little had developed there. Gradually, with a little additional coaxing by the authorities, a few merchants and tobacco factors settled on the South River site. By the 1730s, with prosperous businessmen like James Dick and Anthony Stewart, London Town was flourishing. Despite its excellent location for trade and the strategic ferry located there, the town soon entered into decline. The designation by the Maryland legislature in the late 1740s of another nearby area as a tobacco inspection center drew the trade from London Town, and by the start of the American Revolution there was little left of the town except for a few craftsmen. The history of the area from the nineteenth century until the 1960s was that of the use of the mid-eighteenth century vintage Publik House as the Anne Arundel County Almshouse and disappearance of the traces of earlier years.

Shomette's short study provides a good overview of the South River town. It is obvious that the restrictions in the scope of the book are a result of the lack of a large amount of primary sources other than the administrative records of the ferry, land transactions, and the almshouse; this unfortunately causes a lack of a first hand feeling of the life of the merchants, craftsmen, servants, and slaves who resided there. *London Town: A Brief History* is an interesting and enjoyable footnote to the colonial history of Anne Arundel County and Maryland. The sketch should be read along with Edward Papenfuse's history of colonial Annapolis, John Reps' study of town planning in Maryland and Virginia, and Carville Earle's portrait of All Hallow's Parish. Hopefully, the continuing good work of the London Town Publik House Commission, indicated by the initial publication, will add more to our understanding of the South River community.

*Baltimore City Archives*

RICHARD J. COX

*A Right to the Land: Essays on the Freedmen's Community.* By Edward Magdol. (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1977. Pp. xiv, 290. \$8.50.)

This book is an effort to examine the struggle of Afro-Americans for land and community life. Specifically, the author attempts "to pay closer attention to the Afro-American freed people in the Reconstruction era" by responding to suggestions made by W. E. B. DuBois in 1935 in *Black Reconstruction*. The volume is thus designed to be a working class study of blacks with the focus on Reconstruction. Though the aim to meet DuBois' challenge is praiseworthy, the book does not convincingly delineate the labor theme, even if it is admitted that such a theme is central. To use an appropriate figure of speech, the author has chewed off more than he has digested.



Despite its claim to "careful use" of freedmen's archival records not available to DuBois, the work relies heavily upon printed sources; and though the use of records of the Freedmen's Bureau (Record Group 105 in the National Archives) is claimed and indeed cited, the examination is peripheral, if not superficial. Admittedly, it would have taken a prodigious effort to examine Record Group 105, a voluminous yet invaluable source; but the author chose to select for examination an essentially limited portion in quantity and geography. Scholars who have examined Record Group 105, either in breadth or depth, are well aware that its range of materials relate to many facets of Afro-American life during the middle years of the nineteenth century. Thus, the author's citations of documents for Georgia and Mississippi, for example, would hardly validate his thesis for areas of the upper South or borderlands, particularly Maryland. An examination of the Bureau's records for Maryland, as the author perhaps realizes, could have led to different conclusions.

Moreover, although no competent historian of Afro-American history could disagree with the author's inclusion or allusion in his first three chapters (all of which is prologue) to such well known phenomena in Afro-American history as self-help, self-sacrifice, and cultural responses (such as the "extended family"), a concerned historian may well raise serious questions about continuity and perspective. For example, the author ignores the formation, potential, and function of the historic free black community as a background factor in inspiration and leadership for community building during Civil War and Reconstruction. He could have called attention to antecedents, especially to Maryland, for example, where Baltimore had the largest free black community in the nation. This reviewer suspects that if the author had pursued the development in Maryland, he would have found diminishing or questionable validation for his theme which is, namely, the working class origins of black communities.

The author should be commended for his use of many wide ranging secondary sources and the delineation in Chapter 6: "Shall We Have the Land?" This chapter is the one most pertinent to his theme, the best in the book. The heaviest archival citations from the important Record Group 105 are brought into best use for the first time; and the presentation of the selected area (mainly Georgia and South Carolina) commands respect. However, the remaining three chapters of the book appear to be extrapolative, but not altogether without some helpful glimpses.

*University of Maryland Baltimore County*

W. A. Low

*Behold! The Polish Americans.* By Joseph A. Wytrawal. (Detroit, Mich.: Endurance Press, 1977. Pp. xi, 667. \$15.00.)

Students of Maryland history cannot expect to learn much about this state's Polish American population in Wytrawal's heavy volume. The study lacks a coherent theme. The reader is not sure whether the emphasis is a review of Poles in America and their achievements or how Polish Americans figured in the major episodes of American history. Dr. Wytrawal attempts to link the history of Poland with the cultural heritage of the immigrants. What emerges is a review of the political and diplomatic history of that people which tells us little about the forces that prompted thousands to leave for the new world. We do not learn about the setting for migration and the fact that Poles from the Prussian regions predated those migrating from the Austrian and Russian regions. We learn nothing about the effect of this pattern upon the communities in America.



The study includes chapters on intergroup relation, the Polish and the Irish American clergy, the Jews, blacks and Indians. These topics are treated in an adversary manner. The Irish American clergy and Jews are criticized for being unfair to the Poles. The Poles are praised for their strong support of the Catholic religion, historical tolerance of the Jews and good works among the black and Indian populations. Heavy emphasis is placed upon events in Europe especially wars and the service rendered by Polish Americans in these conflicts. No mention is made of Polish American activities in influencing American policy (except for Ignacy Paderewsky).

Large chunks of the Polish American experience lay unnoticed, such as the role of the immigrants in the labor forces. Why did Poles choose heavy industry? Wytrawal mentions a socialist labor leader but does not mention the more radical groups such as the communists. Although he discusses Jewish-Polish interaction, he is ambivalent about the identity of the Polish Jew. (Jews seem to have considered origin important enough to govern dating, marriage and resident patterns in America. See *Bintel Brief: Sixty Years of Letters from the Lower East Side to the Jewish Daily Forward* [Doubleday 1971].)

Dr. Wytrawal draws upon a variety of materials for his study. References from foreign language books, newspapers, dissertations, secondary works, contemporary news articles fill his footnotes and bibliography. Yet his choices are not comprehensive. While he cites an article by Edward Kantowicz, he does not cite the information gathered in Kantowicz's study of Poles in Chicago (dissertation, University of Chicago, published in 1976) nor does he use Caroline Golabs study, "The Immigrant and the City: the Polish Communities of Philadelphia 1870-1920" (PhD. dissertation, Howard University, 1973), John Parot, "The American Faith and the Persistence of Chicago Polonia 1870-1920" (Ph.D. dissertation, North Illinois University). Although he writes about the Polish American Historical Association he fails to make use of some material included in its journal particularly the work of John Parot that deals with first and second generation Polish neighborhoods in Chicago and the different patterns of accommodation with their black neighbors.

Dr. Wytrawal has produced a compendium of information. His chapters on the Polish Irish Encounter (conflict with the Catholic Church), the Rise of Fraternal Organizations, Polish Cultural Heritage and Polish Cultural Organizations in America provide a detailed account of the events in Polish American history. Unfortunately he does not do more than provide profiles of these events and activities; no attempt is made to analyze their impact.

Students of ethnic history ought to view this study as a prod to further research. Until researchers begin to dissect the many crosscurrents in the experience of America's ethnic communities, we will remain ignorant of its importance. Here in Maryland we suffer from our lack of information about one of our major immigrant groups. Perhaps some hard working scholar will do for Maryland what Dr. Wytrawal attempted to do for the entire nation.

Towson State University

JEAN SCARPACI

*Intellectual Life in the Colonial South, 1585-1763.* By Richard Beale Davis. (3 vols. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1978. Pp. xxxi, 1810. \$60.00.)

This work should remain a reference source for a long time to come. It is a mine of information that is readily accessible through a marvelously thorough 59-page index.

The three volumes are arranged into ten chapters, an introduction and an epilogue. Volume one contains the introduction and first three chapters that deal with the promotion, discovery and history of the five provinces south of Pennsylvania; the image and reality of the North American Indian in each of them; and various types of formal education that took root in each. The four chapters that compose volume two discuss literacy — books, libraries, printing and reading; the individual, evangelical and established varieties of religious experience; the role of the sermon and religious text in each society; and science, technology and agriculture. Volume three's three chapters embrace the fine arts; literature — primarily belletristic; and what Davis calls "The Public Mind: Politics and Economics, Law and Oratory." This last chapter is followed by an epilogue which summarizes the author's main contentions and extrapolates some of them forward in time. Readers would do well to begin this work by reading the epilogue first. Finally, each volume contains a bibliographic essay on the sources for each of its chapter subjects in addition to its cited references.

Davis's thesis is that colonial southerners were a literate and cultured people, and that they made a variety of contributions to the American mind and spirit. Here, he takes issue with New Englanders who have identified their region as the wellspring of American culture, and especially with their "emphasis and concentration on the Puritan religious mind as the source of the American intellectual tradition and thus of the American spirit" (p. xxiii). To me, Davis successfully demonstrates that a southern colonial mind existed, that it was highly complex and involved more than agrarian and Old World ideals, and that its various elements have become an integral part of American culture.

Take Maryland's experience for example. Its colonial culture was certainly rich and sophisticated. The extant letters of Henry Callister, the Reverend Thomas Bacon, Dr. Alexander Hamilton, the Dulanys and Bordleys, Horatio Sharpe, and the records of the Tuesday Club reveal much information on a variety of subjects encased in graceful styles. True, they are post-Addison, Defoe, *The Spectator*, and therefore parallel the general change in literary style that swept English culture in the early eighteenth century, but precious few personal letters (only two from the 1660s, for example) have survived from the seventeenth century.

Indeed, relatively few Maryland — and southern for that matter — documents have survived the ravages of time; and this is true for books as well. Estate inventories reveal that Marylanders maintained libraries of varying size and content as early as 1637. Religion, law rhetoric, science, and mathematics were characteristic seventeenth-century interests, but tastes then shifted during the eighteenth century to include politics, history, travel, literature, the classics, medicine, and philosophy. One can see the Enlightenment and secularization in this latter list.

Keenly aware of events beyond their province — and therefore hardly provincial, educated Marylanders supported the establishment in 1727 of the first southern newspaper, the *Maryland Gazette*. Edited by English-born William Parks, the *Gazette* became a vehicle for nearly every form of literature and simultaneously established a broad public readership for it. Far more people were exposed to Ebenezer Cook's *Sotweed Redivivus* in 1730, for example, than who were to his now-John Barth-made-famous *Sot-Weed Factor* in 1708. The *Gazette* itself was revived by Jonas Green in 1745. Less versatile and catholic in interests than Parks, Green wrote better prose and it was under his editorship, until his death in 1767, that the *Gazette* flowered into one of the finest newspapers of the colonial period. Both its plain style that paralleled the plain style of the Great Awakening and its discussion of economic, political and social problems were superb.

Davis discusses similar developments in connection with religion, the law, politics, agriculture, architecture, painting, music, and the theater, but his discussion of Maryland's colonial education system is most interesting, and different from that of Virginia's. Roman Catholics, and mainly English Jesuits, implemented the early attempts to institute public education. But gradually, Protestants settled in Maryland established their own schools; and, by the 1690s when they outnumbered Roman Catholics and established the Church of England, addressed the issue of province-wide, free public schools.

In 1694 the General Assembly authorized the establishment of several free schools in each county. They were to teach Christian doctrine according to the Church of England, Latin, Greek, and writing, and they were to admit "Indian Youths." In reality, funds were only provided for the creation of King William's School — later to become St. John's College — in Annapolis. Further legislation during the 1720s resulted in the same experience: funds never materialized for the realization of the county-based, public free school deal.

Nevertheless, schools existed and proliferated throughout Maryland during the eighteenth century. These were private in the sense that they were not publicly supported but men and women supported them in their private, voluntary capacities. However, many of these schools functioned as public or semipublic ones, and they taught religion according to the Church of England's doctrines. Other schools were sectarian. Since the Toleration Act of 1649, which guaranteed religious freedom to all faiths, German Baptists, Mennonites and Lutherans settled in Maryland and established their own schools. So, too, did Scots-Irish Presbyterians (Samuel Finley's "New Light" one being the most influential), Quakers and Roman Catholics. No college or university was established in colonial Maryland, however, partly because Maryland taxes supported the College of William and Mary in Virginia (though few Marylanders attended it), and partly because Marylanders did not perceive, in any unified way, the need for one in their province. Moreover, higher education traditionally fell within the purview of Church policies, rather than secular politics, and the occasion for the secular state to assume responsibility for higher education did not occur until disestablishment at the time of the Revolution.

I have touched very briefly on merely one of the five southern provinces and cannot do full justice to the breadth of knowledge and interpretive framework of even Maryland. The work as a whole contains myriad ideas and conceptions about related and unrelated developments, is well written and easy to read, and the few typographical errors that I found did not really mar the text. It is an impressive achievement.

*University of Maryland Baltimore County*

GARY L. BROWNE

*Coasting Schooner: The Four-Masted Albert F. Paul.* By Robert H. Burgess. (Newport News, Virginia: The Mariners Museum, 1978. Pp. XXII, 269. \$7.50.)

In this book Mr. Burgess, using largely contemporary manuscript sources, thoroughly chronicles the career of one of the many but little known workhorses of the American coastal trade on the Eastern seaboard. This trade was not glamorous and ultimately not profitable but at least it served to prolong for a few decades a way of life peculiar to the sailing merchant marine. Happily, this permitted a few maritime historians, such as Mr. Burgess, to record the operation and style of these coasters, inspired by personal observation.

Mr. Burgess contributes two chapters on the building, launching and early career of the *Albert F. Paul* and a third describing the men and women responsible for her handling and management. The fourth chapter is a transcription of the journal of James S. McCullough, a seaman on the schooner during two trips from New York City to Georgetown, South Carolina, in 1933. There are three lengthy appendices giving a complete list of all the voyages of this schooner from 1917 to 1942, an assortment of facts and figures including a typical stores list and a chandlery list for a voyage in 1940 and a discussion of her rig and paint scheme. The most interesting appendix to study is the tabulated and chronological record of the *Paul's* receipts and expenses throughout her career.

There is a particularly interesting and well written foreword by Mr. Fred F. Kaiser discussing the history and decline of the coasting schooners and giving pertinent comments on a number of facts and incidents in the career of the *Albert F. Paul*. Mr. Burgess has provided an extensive assortment of photographs that permit a thorough visual record of the schooner and the people involved in her life. This book will be a joy to the enthusiasts of the last days of the American sailing coasters but also contains much information and many insights of interest to the serious historian of American maritime trade and the seaman's life.

FERDINAND E. CHATARD

*A Season of Youth: The American Revolution and the Historical Imagination.* By Michael Kammen. (New York, N.Y.: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978. Pp. xxi, 369. \$15.00.)

In his earlier Pulitzer Prize-winning study, *People of Paradox* (1972), Michael Kammen argued that American national character from its very origins grew from and into a complex and continual coexistence of contradictory strands. He felt that too many historians had searched for a unifying and consistent theme within the American experience and thus had oversimplified the whole American story.

In *A Season of Youth* Kammen asserts that historians have also limited themselves by pursuing another kind of oversimplification. They have ignored what an analysis of popular culture might tell us about national value. In particular, historians have paid insufficient attention to what the popular mind has thought about its own past. Historians have concentrated too much on trying to reconstruct a factual past while ignoring what the non-academic majority thinks of the past.

Kammen believes that in the works of novelists, poets, painters, sculptors, and film makers one can actually see the popular national myths and ideas about the American past being created and changing through time. To investigate these artistic achievements is to see how the vast majority of Americans have used history to meet their own needs and aspirations.

Kammen does not contend that American artists and writers have been particularly original. They have too much reflected national aspirations themselves. It is in the work of creative artists, however, that we see most clearly what national values have been. The few widely influential historians, if they can be called such in the professional sense, have been those like Parson Weems who have followed the emerging tastes of the popular culture.

Kammen believes that the most formative experience in shaping national values and myths has been the popular remembrance of the American Revolution: "Insofar as we have a feeling for tradition at all . . . the American Revolution has been at its core. The Revolution is the one component of our past that we have not, at some point or

other, explicitly repudiated." (p. 15) National sentiment eventually rejected Puritanism and the Cavalier myth of the South as embodiments of national purpose. Even the Civil War, which might seem to have the strongest alternative claim as a source of national tradition, finally "came to be regarded as our darkest hour precisely because the basest qualities in our character briefly came to the ascendancy then." (p. 258) The Revolution, however, increasingly became a unifying non-controversial phenomenon.

The reason for the enduring primary of the Revolution in the national imagination lies in the way artists, beginning with popular historical novelists in the early nineteenth century, began to use memories of the Revolution to fulfill a need. By 1820 Americans wanted a tradition instead of constantly overcoming one. As the young republic matured, the popular mind, now imbued with the idea of material progress, saw the very lineaments of its material life changing rapidly. The public needed a reference point in the past from which one could measure this progress and change in order to understand it and take pride in it. The Revolution was the obvious beginning point from which a new destiny had come.

It was the contemporary artist and popular writer of the time who clarified this larger public yearning by using a metaphor drawn from immediate and familiar experience to explain societal change. The passage of an individual through the stages of life itself was that immediate experience. The Revolution became the imaginative equivalent of a national rite of passage from dependent youth to early independent adulthood with all the attendant awkward strength, yearning for autonomy, and fumbling idealism of the individual adolescent. The break with Britain was indeed a family quarrel.

Kammen maintains that historical novels became the most influential source of information which created in the larger public mind the consciousness of the Revolution as a national rite of passage. Influenced by Walter Scott and led by James Fennimore Cooper, novelists such as William Gilmore Simms, James Kirk Paulding, and John P. Kennedy, accompanied by many lesser lights, felt compelled to dramatize the origins of American nationality. Their achievement was to create a recurring national hero, a boyish protagonist, in many cases an orphan, who on the eve of the Revolution has won no respect and has little self-esteem. He is drawn into the Revolution, often tested in battle and many times in captivity, and then emerges as a true man, self-confident and respected.

Later novelists embellished this basic theme with other messages to the public — pro- and anti-slavery arguments, post-Civil War de-emphasis of violent hostility between Britain and America, and a tendency by the late nineteenth century to underscore the conservative sanity of Revolutionary leaders. The basic theme promoting the obvious analogy between young individuals and the young nation passing from dependent youth to autonomous adulthood remains ever present, though, from Cooper to Kenneth Roberts.

At the hands of painters and sculptors the national rite of passage also appears as an important evocation of American self-consciousness. The change in the central subject of painting and sculpture from a pre-Civil War emphasis on the signing of the Declaration of Independence and specific Revolutionary individuals in heroic poses gave way to gory battle scenes (the Civil War influence) and later in the Wyeth and Pyle school to the Revolution as adventure, paralleling a maturing America's search for greater challenges. In the 1930's depression-era painting and sculpture, often sponsored by the WPA, linked national legend with political rebellion and social protest as an older society showed the doubts of middle age.

The popular iconography of the American Eagle is symbolic of the changing attitudes toward the Revolution in the nineteenth century. In its first use in 1782 the

Eagle was accompanied by maiden Liberty, thus joining together Liberty and Power. By the 1820s the Eagle was accompanied by Prosperity in scenes of harmony and stability. The Revolution was being de-revolutionized as the nation matured.

Kammen's contribution to an understanding of what the Revolution has meant to the popular imagination is a significant one. Although one might question his premise that professional historians, particularly in their textbook writing, have had almost nothing to do with the popular conception of the Revolution, the author has amassed a train of widely admired artistic and literary works which support his point that the popular view of the Revolution has often differed from the scholarly one.

Kammen presents his findings in a sprightly style that at times is overly colloquial but is for the most part clear and engrossing. Some of his interpretations of specific historians are hastily drawn. Kammen appears perplexed, for instance, as to why the post-Civil War history of Herman E. Von Holst was unpopular. Von Holst's explanation of the course of American history solely in terms of the struggle over slavery was just what the popular mind in its anxiety to bury the Civil War traumas did not want to read.

The most interesting and disturbing implication of Kammen's theory that the Revolution came to mean a rite of passage from youth to maturity is, of course, the fact that a nation can come of age only once. Therefore, its most meaningful experience in its own mind may be over and done with and its own future less the subject of optimism and hope.

*Washington College*

ROBERT FALLAW

## NEWS AND NOTICES

### URBAN HISTORY CONFERENCE

An URBAN HISTORY CONFERENCE, emphasizing interdisciplinary approaches to urban studies, will be held at Dickinson College, November 16-17, 1979. This conference is jointly sponsored by Dickinson and the Central Pennsylvania Consortium. All interested in participating should submit proposals for papers or sessions to Jo Ann E. Argersinger, Department of History, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA 17013.

This History Department of the University of Maryland Baltimore County announces a new graduate program in Historical Studies. The program leads to a M.A. degree and is characterized by a strong emphasis on the new thematic, comparative and interdisciplinary approaches to the study of the past. Most graduate courses will be offered during the evening hours. Graduate teaching assistantships are available for a number of qualified students. Applications for September 1979 admissions are due by August 1. For admission application forms, general information about the Historical Studies program, and a Graduate School Catalog, contact:

Dr. Franklin Mendels, Director

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5401 Wilkens Avenue

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or telephone 455-2312.

This Historical Society of Kent County announces the Tenth Annual Candlelight Walking Tour to be held in Chestertown, Maryland on Saturday, September 15, 1979. The Tour will be held from 6 to 10 pm and will include visits to fifteen historic homes and buildings located throughout Chestertown. For further information write:

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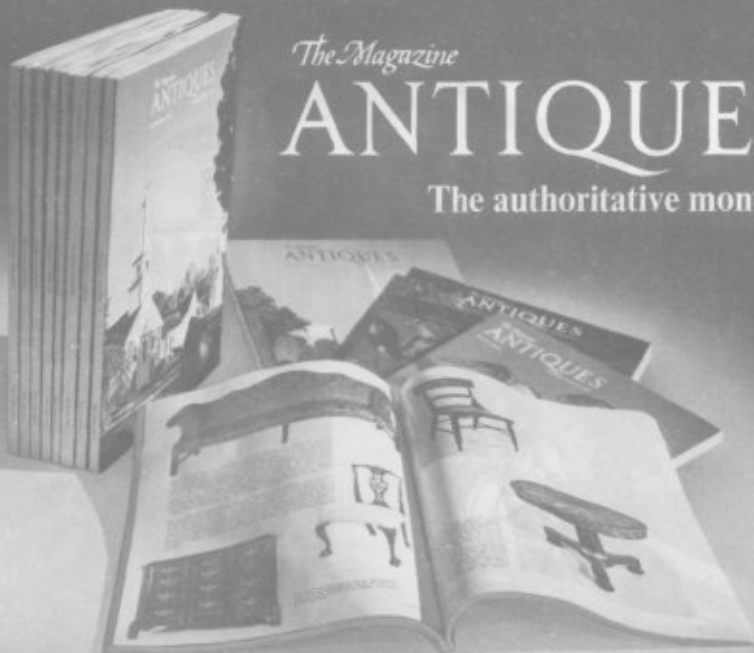
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